Kyle, Richard G. (2006) *Negotiating youth work : moral geographies of the Boys' Brigade in Scotland.* PhD thesis.

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NEGOTIATING YOUTH WORK:

MORAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE BOYS' BRIGADE IN SCOTLAND

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SEPTEMBER, 2006

[18] As Jesus was walking beside the Sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers, Simon called Peter and his brother Andrew. They were casting a net into the lake, for they were fishermen. [19] 'Come, follow me,' Jesus said, 'and I will make you fishers of men.' [20] At once they left their nets and followed him.

Matthew, 4:18-20 NIV

ABSTRACT

The sites and settings of structured youth work have been a neglected sphere of study in contemporary human geography. This thesis addresses this silence through an examination of The Boys' Brigade – a voluntary Christian uniformed youth work movement. Limited in geographic scope to Scotland, the thesis draws upon a multiple-methods research strategy comprising; a mail-based questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and a period of participant observation, incorporating participatory approaches with boys. Resting upon Foucauldian theoretical foundations, and written with audiences both within and without academia in mind, the thesis argues that a failure to appreciate the spatialities of structured youth work settings invariably results in partial accounts of both the motives underpinning their voluntary provision by adults and boys' participation in them. More specifically, it suggests that the spaces of structured youth work are realised through small-scale processes of negotiation between boys and adults that stabilise a shared spatio-temporal regime – a structure – through which youth work is conducted by both adults and boys. It contends that it is space itself, and particularly its purposive ordering, that is both enlisted and resisted to achieve this fleeting stabilisation with its attendant disciplinary and developmental ends. In so doing the thesis delivers an analytical framework through which other spaces of structured youth work can be read that, by remaining alert to the interweaving of the geographies of voluntary provision and participation, neither overplays adults' nor downplays young people's agency in their creation.

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always pleasant company; and most of all to my family; Mum and Dad, for your constant love and faith, and for giving me this world as a playground (I've no doubt at all this whole process *actually* started with an adventure to find the source of a burn at the bottom of our garden); Nana and Papa, for your love and encouragement (I 'stuck in', just like you always said to Papa); David, my brother and best friend, for always being there, thank you; finally, for the year between this candle-less coffee shop table and another not too far from here I will always treasure, thank you Gillian (if only you were guilty too).

Beanscene, Cresswell Lane, Glasgow.
8th August 2006

This thesis embodies the results of original research carried out by the author between October 2002 and September 2006. References to existing work are made as appropriate. Any remaining errors are the sole responsibility of the author.

Richard G. Kyle

30th September 2006.

INTRODUCTION:

PLACING THE BOYS' BRIGADE, SITUATING ITS STUDY, POSITIONING ITS AUTHOR

Avec la garde montante,	Right beside the relief guard,
nous arrivons, nous voilà.	here we come, here we are!
Sonne, trompette éclatante!	Blow out, loud trumpet!
Taratata, taratata!	Taratata, taratata!
Nous marchons la tête haute	We march with head erect
comme de petits soldats,	like little soldiers,
marquant sans faire de faute,	keeping time with no mistakes –
une, deux, marquant le pas.	one, two – keeping step.
Les épaules en arriere	Shoulders back
et la poitrine en dehors,	and chest well out,
les bras de cette manière	arms this way
tombant tout le long du corps.	straight down beside the body
Avec la garde montante ...	Right beside the relief guard ...

Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, 1875, librettists for George Bizet's *Carmen*

Imitation. Not long after the curtain rises on Georges Bizet's *Carmen*, the audience is entertained by a chorus of street boys imitating the passing soldiers, performing the discipline of the parade. Less than a decade separate the opening night of *Carmen* in L'Opéra-Comique on 3rd March 1875 and the institution of The Boys' Brigade (BB) by Sir William Smith at the Free Church Mission Hall in Glasgow's North Woodside on 4th October 1883. The juxtaposition of these two events here is curious, to be sure. Other than sharing a historical context, at first sight little *appears* to hold them in common. Yet, the drive to imitate evidenced in the street boys' transient formation of a company of soldiers in the first act of Bizet's opera contains traces of the foundation upon which Smith built his own production;

> The aim was to devise something that would appeal to a boy on the heroic side of his nature – something that would let him see that in the service of God there is as much scope for all that is brave and true and manly as in the service of King and Country (Smith quoted in McFarlan, 1982: 14).

CONSIDERING EMERGENCE: PLACING THE BOYS' BRIGADE

The BB was born into, and out of, an era of British Imperial expansion. The 1880s was the decade of what *The Times* in September 1884 would infamously term 'the scramble for Africa' (Wilson, 2002: 488). Despite military defeats such as the retreat from Kabul during the first Anglo-Afghan war in 1842, rekindled in the popular consciousness by events during the second between 1878 and 1880, the military was viewed favourably in the eyes of a public that had not yet witnessed the horrors of warfare in the trenches of the Somme three decades hence. That it enjoyed popularity owed largely to the 'growing connection between *religion* and the military' (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 25; added emphasis), a convergence evidenced at least partly by the creation of General William Booth's Salvation Army in 1878 and Presbendary Wilson Carlile's Church Army four years later. Thus;

> The growth of what might be termed Christian militarism, evident since the Crimea and Indian Mutiny in mid-Victorian times, owed a great deal to religious literature using the stories of evangelical generals [e.g., Havelock, Gordon] to create the image of the Christian soldier as hero (*ibid.*).

MacKenzie has noted that during this era, using such imagery, '[d]eliberate efforts were made to suck working-class children into a consciousness of imperial and military destiny, both through the curriculum and drill and exercise' (1986: 228). Later rejection of 40% of Volunteers for the Boer War provided pragmatic justification for the raising of both military consciousness and the physical fitness of potential recruits for any future conflict (*ibid.*). Smith's appreciation of the image of 'Christ the hero' (Gibbon, 1934: 98) clearly played into the specific discourse of heroism of the era. Yet, The BB also emerged more directly from a military model; Smith's inspiration shaped, at least in part, by *his* involvement in the Volunteers. The volunteer movement had witnessed revival in response to Napoleon III's 'fresh French invasion scares' (Mackenzie, 1986: 228), particularly around the period of 'panic' between 1859 to 1860 (Springhall, 1977: 71). In the same year as he had participated in the 1873-75 revival of American evangelists Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, Smith enlisted in the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers, a not altogether surprising association given his family's strong military connections (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 31; see VIGNETTE TWO). In tracing The BB's conception, 1874 proves to be a pivotal year. In this year Smith had also founded a Young Men's Society modelled closely on George Williams's Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) founded 30 years earlier (*ibid.*: 23). In September 1874 Smith, with James Findlay, would form Woodside Morning Branch of the YMCA (*ibid.*: 38). He was later joined by James Moffat and the brothers James and John Hill, who both would become Smith's Lieutenants in the first Company of The BB (*ibid.*).

If these developments evidence Smith's concern for the young men in the area around the North Woodside Mission Hall[1], his later marriage of military discipline with religious instruction – an alliance King George VI would term in 1943 the movement's 'twin pillars' (*ibid.*: 178) – also has precedent in other work with boys and young men in Glasgow.

Sir Michael Connal, the shipping magnate who would become chairman of Glasgow's School Board between 1874 and 1885 (*ibid.*: 36), established the Spoutmouth Young Men's Institute in 1848 (Fraser, 1980: 67). To Connal's work was added a decade later The Grove Street Home Mission Institute in which the 'device' of the home room – undoubtedly the inspiration behind Smith's Boys' or Club Room (see VIGNETTE ONE) – was first used (*ibid.*: 71). The Buchanan Institute followed the next year (1859), and by 1864 a variety of Brigades – e.g., Shoe-black, News, Parcels – had emerged, each with their own distinctive uniform (*ibid.*: 76). Of all these societies and Brigades, that which most influenced the development of The BB was the Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society (GFBRS). Indeed, some historians have noted that Smith's BB was an imitation of the GFBRS (Brown, 1997: 103).

Conceived by Mary Ann Clough, a young factory girl who used a room in the Foundry to hold Sunday afternoon meetings with 50 boys, the GFBRS was initiated in 1865 in the Cowcaddens area of the city, east of Smith's experiment in Kelvinside, by William Hunter, William Martin, James Hunter and Alexander Mackeith (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 37). The GFBRS first used a simple uniform – not dissimilar to that introduced to The BB in its second session of 1884-85 (Birch, 1959: 23) – though this was discontinued in 1882 (Fraser, 1980: 154). Drill, an essential element of Smith's experiment, also formed an integral part of the Society's work, in this case with assistance from the 1st Lanark Artillery Volunteers (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 37). The GFBRS's Object – 'The religious, educational and social elevation of boys and girls of the city and suburbs' (Fraser, 1980: 79) – differed from Smith's, but its desire to 'unite' activities such as 'Sabbath forenoon and evening meetings, week evening evangelistic meetings, educational classes, summer excursions [and] winter soirees [...] into one system exerting a continuous influence for good during the whole week' (*ibid.*) does find expression in Smith's chosen activities of Bible class, winter parade nights, summer camps and 'squad teas' that he used to 'advance Christ's Kingdom among Boys'. Delving deeper here, though, the most stark difference between the GFBRS and BB was the latter's work solely with boys. The focus on the cultivation of 'manliness' receives more detailed attention in CHAPTER FIVE but it is nevertheless essential to flag from the outset the clear 'gendering' of the activities enlisted and spaces reconfigured to achieve this end. Perhaps, then, this thesis does little to challenge the masculism of much social scientific research.

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[1] It is worth noting that these boys and young men were not the 'ragged' street boys spun into existence in some origin myths surrounding the movement (Springhall, 1977: 25). Instead, Springhall documents the social composition of The BB's membership using enrolment books between 1890 and 1895, characterising them as the 'sons of skilled manual workers or those with fathers in 'white collar' occupations [which] clearly prevail[ed] over a negligible number with unskilled or semi-skilled parents' (*ibid.*). Moreover, MacKenzie has noted that '[i]n Scotland [T]he Boys' Brigade tended to be attached to churches in working-class and skilled manual worker districts' (1986: 246; see also Brown, 1997: 148).

However, in light of current legal and principled challenges from within and without the movement concerning its single gender status in terms of membership (see CHAPTER FIVE) it does speak, if in a slightly sideways fashion, to the (supposed) contemporary crises of young masculinities (Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman, 2005).

There is, however, one final feature of the era of The BB's conception that is of crucial importance and returns us full-circle to the springboard for this section. In their various forms, each of these sources of Smith's inspiration had concerned themselves with 'the adolescent', although its so-called discovery had yet to be credited. While American psychologist G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* was still two decades from publication in the year of The BB's birth, the Darwinistic discourse of evolutionary biology upon which it drew had infused the thinking of the middle-classes either through their acceptance or rejection of evolutionary theory since the publication of Darwin's *On the Origins of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859 (see Gagen, 2000; 2003 for a critical engagement with Hall's work in relation to how such discourses shaped the playground movement in the US). And, indeed, an emerging discourse of natural phases or behavioural tendencies whilst growing up, rooted in biological determinism, is evidenced in Smith's own thinking around the turn of the twentieth century;

> An observant student of boy nature has pointed out that about the age of twelve, boys develop a strong propensity to form themselves into groups or gangs, which exert a great influence over the boys composing them. Among the outstanding characteristics of this stage of boy life is an intense loyalty to his own gang, with a corresponding enmity towards all other gangs. For the sake of his gang a boy will do what he would never think of doing on his own account. He will steal when he has no desire for the article stolen; he will tell lies in order to shield his gang. Another characteristic is an intense admiration of physical strength, athletic prowess, and deeds of courage and daring. There is also developed a marked recognition of leadership and an unanswering loyalty to his leaders. The best fighter is chosen to lead the gang in their fights with other boys; the best football player is made captain of the football team; the boy who unites in himself most of the required qualities is the acknowledged head of the gang.
>
> Now, it is just this natural propensity which The Boys' Brigade seizes hold of. It first turns it to good account, and then seeks to enlarge the scope of it. It does this by forming into companies under Christian men who sympathise with boy nature, and to whom the boys can look as their trusted leaders. In the company they are banded together by drill and discipline, which lays the best groundwork for a wholesome moral and religious training. In connection with the companies are formed football, cricket, swimming, and other sports dear to every healthy boy's heart, while the Bible Class, in which the same *esprit de corps* is maintained, forms the copestone of the whole.
>
> Then the group of companies is formed into a Battalion, and the boy learns that as his company forms part of the Battalion, so the Battalion is part of the Brigade, and the Brigade itself is part of the great army which is fighting for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom in the world. Thus a boy is led to recognise that the love of God and the service of humanity in the spirit of Christ is the ultimate manifestation of that loyalty to his company with which he began (Smith, 1899 quoted in Gibbon, 1953:124-126).

Smith's BB thus represented his own unique solution to the emerging 'youth problem' – i.e., how to occupy productively boys' increasingly available free-time – yet it was a solution embedded in 'Religion['s] adapt[ation] to urban society' (Brown, 1997: 102) in the late-nineteenth century, an adaptation effected;

> more than anything by inventing the voluntary organisation, for which church people developed an obsession between the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign and the outbreak of the First World War. Through it, the Victorian middle classes had their outlet for 'respectable' and 'useful' leisure' (*ibid.*).

Returning to this introduction's opening, apparently trite, anecdote, the connection between *Carmen* and The BB does run deeper: just as Bizet's opera opened as a failure with the public and critics alike (Kobbé, 1926: 601; cf. Grout and Williams, 2003: 474), when word spread of Smith's experiment it too met with harsh criticism. And for similar reasons; both crystallised a moral challenge to branches of 'established' society. Smith's brand of 'leisure activity tinged with religion' (Morton and Morris, 2002: 387) was considered by some to be neither respectable nor useful. For example, in 1890 The Peace Society referred to Smith as a;

> new-born Scottish monster, which claims God and the devil for his parents. [...] It is unquestionably the master-stroke of Mars, by which Ministers of Christ's Gospel are used as recruiting sergeants for the British Army. What is this but dragging true religion into the gutter of corruption? Be it ours, therefore, in season and out of season, to do our utmost, in the interests of righteousness and peace, to crush this young praying and fighting monster (quoted in Springhall *et al*, 1983: 98).

Yet, Bizet's Théodore de Banville[2] was matched by Smith's Henry Drummond. Unanimously elected to a newly created chair of Professor of Natural Science at the Free Church College on 31st May 1884 (a position into which he was 'ordained and inducted' on 4th November that year [Smith, 1997: 58]), Drummond became one of Smith's foremost admirers and advocates for the movement he had founded. Described by some as 'the apostle of The Boys' Brigade' (Gibbon, 1953: 87) and by others as 'one of [its] major prophets' (Peacock, 1954: 40), Drummond seldom missed an opportunity to spread the word of Smith's experiment during his duties at home and travels further afield (Smith, 1997: 109). A student and critic of Darwin's evolutionary biology (*ibid.*: 12; 36; 53-57), in an article in *Good Words* (*ibid.*: 109-110) – at least part of which was given as an address to students at Harvard University (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 56) – Drummond remarks;

> The boy is accounted for by the Evolution Theory. His father was the Primitive Man. It is only his being in a town and his mispronunciation that make you think he is not a savage. What he represents is Capacity; he is clay, dough, putty. He is simply Boy, pure, unwashed, unregenerate Boy. Until the

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[2] Amidst ardent criticism of Bizet's *Carmen* particularly levelled at it being an opera unfitting of L'Opéra-Comique poet Théodore de Banville was an admirer of the composer's aims. Such support was, however, not enough to turn the tide of criticism. Bizet died on 3rd June 1875 unaware of the later popularity of his masterwork and *Carmen* would not grace L'Opéra-Comique's stage again until 'the brilliant reparation' of 1883 (Pierre Berton quoted in Kobbé, 1926: 601).

'BB' was discovered, scarcely any one knew how to make a man, a gentleman, and a Christian out of a message-boy. [...]

Let us suppose you have gathered a Sunday-class of boys, and treat them at first on the old or time-dishonoured plan. Infinite trouble and infinite bribery have brought these creatures together; and as they come solely to amuse themselves, your whole effort is spent in keeping order – in quelling riots, subduing irrelevant remarks, minimising attacks upon the person. No boy, you know perfectly, has yet succeeded in listening to you for two consecutive minutes. They have learned nothing whatever. Respect is unknown, obedience a jest.

What is wrong is that they have no motive, no interest, and you have not tried to find these for them. [...]

One night, after the usual émeute, you retire from the place of torture, vowing to attempt some change. The following Saturday night, instead of trying to find out whether the Israelites crossed the Red Sea by the shoals at Suez or went round, 'as some say', by Wady Tawarik, you read up the literature of the 'BB', and learn how the children of your own city can be led across the more difficult sea of life's temptations. [...]

Call these boys 'boys', which they are, and ask them to sit up in a Sunday-class, and no power on earth will make them do it, but put a fivepenny cap on them and call them 'soldiers', which they are not, and you can order them about till midnight. [...] As class it was confusion, depression, demoralisation, chaos. As Company, it is respect, self-respect, enthusiasm, happiness, peace (quoted in Smith, 1997: 109-110).

While purposefully hyperbolic and humorous (Peacock, 1954: 40)[3], on one level this fictitious account tells of a once despairing Sunday school teacher's quelling of a riotous Sunday school class through diligent study of BB literature. On another, it reflects – if through a glass, darkly – Smith's own marriage of military training, gained from nine years' service in the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 31), with his desire to provide religious instruction to Glasgow's youth. In short, mingled with the myth is the story of the creation of the first Company of The BB.

The story of Smith's unruly Sunday school and the growth of the movement planted as a seed in a Mission Hall in Glasgow's West End has already been expertly told (see Springhall *et al*, 1983; Gibbon, 1953; McFarlan, 1982; Birch, 1959; Peacock, 1954; Shaw, 1983). A sprinkling of theses and dissertations have similarly explored the conception, birth, and development of the

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[3] After quoting the latter passage of the quotation above and adding 'The genius who discovered this outstanding and inexplicable psychological fact ought to rank with Sir Isaac Newton' (Peacock, 1954: 40), Peacock notes; 'That these words passed the censorship of the Founder's authority indicates that they should not be taken too seriously, and is sufficient proof that they were meant in a purely hyperbolical sense. Drummond had a keen sense of humour, and often wrote in a semi-humorous vein. It would have shocked him to have known that words of his had been used to substantiate a charge that the BB was founded on a false hypothesis. Yet antagonists have not hesitated to use Drummond's words to bolster up arguments of little force. If any one in the BB were so foolish as actually to call the Boys soldiers they would be hooted off the scene. Any suggestion of playing at soldiers would estrange their sympathies and soon deplete the ranks. Boys and Officers know perfectly well the purpose of drill in the BB, and are the first to appreciate its value' (*ibid.*: 40-41). Drummond's sense of humour shines through in 'examination papers' he sent to boys in 1899. Under the category history, for example, he asked 'Where was Major Whittle born; contrast him briefly with Wellington, Napoleon, General Booth, General Tom Thumb, and General Supply stores' (Smith, 1997: 107).

movement (see, e.g., Fraser, 1980; Mason, 1984; Barratt, 1976; Farmer, 1973; Grace, 1984; also Springhall *et al*, 1983: 283-284). And threads of this story weave through this thesis. But, before the stories of The BB taking root in Glasgow and beyond, before the story of its Founder's life and death, before the stories of his successors and the personalities shaping a movement through its 123-year history, there lies a story of what *motivated* one man to band a group of young boys into a Company of imitative 'little soldiers'.

And, yet, weekly this story is still being written. Adults, themselves imitating Smith – following his model – continue to operate BB Companies in local communities. The *Annual Review* of the 2004-2005 session reported that throughout the United Kingdom there are 1,672 Companies, 58,267 boys, and 11,662 Officers (The Boys' Brigade, 2005: 5) of which those boys, Officers and Companies in Scotland account for roughly a third (21,409, 3,561, and 504, respectively: The Boys' Brigade, 2004c). This also begs the question: what motivates these adults to volunteer, to give freely their time, to provide activities for the boys and young men in these communities? But this question is greater; what leads them to channel this motivation in the *specific* direction of banding boys and young men together in *BB Companies*? It is this question which is the central, but not sole, concern of this thesis.

CONSIDERING MOTIVATION: SITUATING *MY* THESIS

Considering this question of motivation is crucial. One need only reflect on the strikingly different interpretation of Smith's experiment in the already quoted words of The Peace Society and Professor Drummond to recognise that confusion reigned over Smith's purpose in the past. Yet, confusion over the motivations of those providing BB Companies still reigns. Most recently, 'The Ferret', a regular column in *Young People Now* (a weekly magazine for those working in the youth work sector) dedicated to digging behind the headlines, noted;

> The youth participation worker at The Boys' Brigade – quoted in *Young People Now* earlier this month – has been explaining his task to the wider press. *The Sunday Times* [Scotland] duly reported the preparations the brigade is making to change its uniform and drills as part of 'a makeover to soften its image'. Phil Lund told the paper that the review will consider ditching terms such as 'company', 'battalions' and 'officers'. But the makeover may have to go beyond merely 'rebranding'. The Boys' Brigade was founded on traditional values of obedience and discipline. Which means doing what you are told. How does consultation fit into that? Can you run a brigade where young people are constantly requesting permission to participate, sir? Hear by right, left, right, left... (*Young People Now*, 2006: 12).

While not digging enough behind the headlines to discover the actual nature of the events reported[4], such statements are symptomatic of a wider suspicion over the motivations of those involved in (particularly Christian) youth work. In the foreword of Brierley's recent volume *Joined Up: an introduction to youth work and ministry*, Bishop Sainsbury writes;

> Danny Brierley's book is therefore being published at a very critical time for both the future of the youth service and the mission of the churches in the twenty-first century. It doesn't pull any punches about the current struggle between youth work *and* youth ministry which has led to real divisions particularly among evangelical Christians and real suspicions about motives from those in the secular youth work world. I am particularly grateful for Danny's exploration as I face the same struggle between being Chair of the National Youth Agency and a member of the College of Evangelists (Brierley, 2003: ix-x; original emphasis).

Considering questions of motivation for this author does not, however, come without a degree of self-questioning. My relationship to the object of study has already been subtly, yet purposefully, betrayed in the previous paragraph; the fact I am more aware of the 'actual nature of the events reported' than 'The Ferret' reveals my insider status. My position thus bears similarity with Bishop Sainsbury; as both academic researcher and BB member I straddle two fields and similarly 'struggle' to do so. I must, then, lay bare *my* motivations behind conducting this research. Put another way, in situating this thesis I must also position myself – as author – within it. While self-centred, this exercise is not designed to descend into egotism (see Routledge, 1996: 401)[5]. Instead, it embraces reflexivity; I must add my own voice to the 'polyphonic chorus' which composes post-modern research texts. As Evans, quoting Packwood and Sikes (1996: 342), notes;

> One of the voices to be heard in the polyphonic chorus is that of the researcher. That voice tells not merely the single story of the research process but also those of the emotional investment in the work and the motivation behind it (2000: 273).

This thesis, in common with all theses, is not merely a report of research conducted, but a product of a lived process laden with decisions made by its author, the first of which is whether to embark upon the process at all. That this text exists clearly evidences my choice to do so, and the motivations behind bringing it into being fall into three broad headings: personal, political, and philosophical. Although inevitably intertwined, each will be discussed in turn.

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[4] Reported as a *fait accompli* in the press The BB's Participation Worker was referring to a series of consultations held with Officers around the UK conducted by the Constitutional Review Group at which *possible* changes to militaristic terminology were debated.

[5] Routledge warns; 'In our writing, we stage a representation of a particular 'reality' in order to display it. Such a display reflects, at least in part, who we are (or as Kurt Vonnegut might say, who we think we are). Responses to this dilemma have involved various forms of self-reflection [...]. However, while we may accept that such representations are situated, and partial because selective, it is also important to remember that we write ourselves as particular kinds of subjects. [...] Such self-reflexivity can be in danger of producing a narcissistic self-centring which locates myself-as-author at the centre of an heroic or romanticised narrative (1996: 401).

PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS

Since childhood I have been brought up with church and, particularly, The BB as a feature of my life. As the colour of my jumper changed from red to blue when I moved from being an 'Anchor Boy' to a member of the 'Junior Section', as the stripes on my arm increased in number as I was promoted through the 'Company Section', the organisation entered my head and my heart. Now, with the accoutrements of haversack, hat and belt lying in boxes alongside trophies and certificates – my boy life stripped away – I stand as an adult clothed in a white shirt, tie and belt, The BB an integral part of my identity. I believe passionately in what The BB does, and this passion motivates me to be involved on a number of levels.

Each Friday evening – donning my 'uniform', assuming the 'rank' of Lieutenant – I fulfil the role of 'Officer' to a Company of boys in Glasgow. It is this role I love most. Some evenings I leave down-hearted; it has been a challenging night, things have not panned out the way I planned, what I thought would be interesting was met instead with boredom. I would be lying if I said I enjoyed it all the time. Most weeks, though, I leave enthused and inspired. Over time as I gradually learn more about the boys, their uniqueness shines out. You see them change and grow. The boy you poured all your strength into encouraging round a mountain bike orienteering trail one year has gained immeasurable confidence the next. Through shared events, lives and memories intertwine.

But my involvement in the movement does stretch wider. During the course of this research I have been a member of Glasgow Battalion's 'Training Committee', a co-opted under-26 member of the 'Scotland Committee', and a member of the 'International Team'. In each role my position as volunteer and academic researcher has been interwoven: at 'Battalion' level, through membership of a working group charged with the re-organisation of the Battalion's districts into areas, a task placed into my hands as a direct result of my academic background and, specifically, previous research (re)constructing the historical geography of these districts (Kyle, 2001); at a 'regional' level, by conducting research in part fulfilment of The BB's current development plan (see CHAPTER TWO); and, at a 'national' level, through authorship of an article on the work of the 'International Team' (Kyle, 2003a).

Returning to the issue of authorship, it would be remiss not to reflect critically upon the authorship of this thesis and how the positionality outlined above has shaped the 'doing' of this research. Embracing the reflexive turn (England, 1994) several (Christian) geographers have made explicit their own motivations behind conducting their research (Clark, 1991; Clark and Sleeman, 1991; Driver, 1991; Cloke; 2002; Pacione, 1999, 2000; Dawson, 2000). Through engagement in collaborative research with 'others' beyond and within 'the academy' (Blomley, 1994; Fuller, 1999; Kitchen, 1999; Doyle, 1999), activist geographers too have reflected upon the positioning of their 'activist self' with their 'academic self'. Bunge's pioneering geographical expeditions in Detroit and Toronto perhaps first pinpointed the difficulties involved in navigating the space of praxis between academia and activism (see 1973, 1975). In recent years, Routledge (1996) has

made the most sustained strides in this regard. Conceptualising a 'third space' 'from where we may negotiate the locations of academia and activism' (1996: 400), he argues that within this space 'neither site, role, or representation holds sway, [...] one continually subverts the meaning of the other' (*ibid.*). Moreover, he highlights that 'the boundaries between [his] roles as 'activist' and 'geographer' were always in flux, always being negotiated' (1996: 405). This struggle between these twin roles has featured frequently in his research over the intervening decade (see, e.g., 1997, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003). For example, in covert research in Goa negotiating not only his two 'actual' selves but also the fictional identity of Walter Kurtz, Routledge remarks that; 'there are many 'powers' that accrue to research subjects within the research process that might empower as well as disempower the researcher' (2002: 489). Thus, embracing a Foucauldian theorisation of power as "something which circulates' between individuals' (Foucault, 1980: 98 quoted in Sharp *et al*, 2000: 1), his subsequent statement that 'the power to define the field of collaboration belonged as much (if not more) to my collaborators as to me' (2002: 489) speaks to my own experience of negotiating the twin roles of volunteer and researcher throughout the process of this research. Occupying this unstable and risky interstice, my position was (and is now perhaps always) not too dissimilar to Cooklin's (1999) notion of the "irreverant inmate' who is a supporter of the people in the organisation, a saboteur of the organisation's rituals and a questioner of some of its beliefs' (Coghlan and Brannick, 2001: 63-64). Taking it a step further, though, at times you are imprisoned in your membership by others. As an *inmate* – partially institutionalised – in conducting this research I am never truly an outsider and this is why I, like Evans, 'needed to declare my 'baggage' in the form of my biography' (2000: 277). As an insider, I hold views and opinions of the movement; I have hopes and fears for its future. As discussed, the part that The BB has played in my biography is the base for my burning passion. The part it continues to play provides the fuel for this fire. In small part, then, my *personal* motivation to conduct this research was to support these individuals in their – *our* – work. By attempting to understand their motivations, certain myths surrounding them, such as those in the *Young People Now* article, might be dispelled. Perhaps by bringing Christian youth work into the analytical spotlight, tentative steps towards a rapprochement between secular youth work and the world of youth ministry can be taken. Suspicion can, after all, only lurk in shadowy spaces.

'POLITICAL' MOTIVATIONS

While the above could undoubtedly be regarded as a (small p) political project, the second major source of motivation connects with formal *P*olitical circuits. That 'moral panic' crystallises around young people is evidenced from even a cursory glance through history. Through his discovery of the 'adolescent', G. Stanley Hall (1904) provided not only a definition of adolescence itself, but by setting out the 'normal' and 'ideal' behaviours characterising this developmental phase also a definition of 'deviance' towards which the efforts of social reformers in the Edwardian era were directed (Griffin, 2004: 12; Gagen, 2003; Eager, 1953). Following the 'invention' of the teenager

in the 1950s (Hebdidge, 1988), each emerging British sub-cultural style was quickly associated with delinquency: in the knife-toting 'Teddy Boys' of the 1950s, Vespa-riding 'Mods' and leather-clad 'Rockers' in the 1960s, and safety pin-adorned 'Punks' of the 1970s, society found its 'folk devils' (Cohen, 1967). Today, through the discourse of anti-social behaviour, these devils have been created anew, incarnate in the Berghaus-wearing 'neds', tracksuited 'scallies' or blinged-up 'chavs'. And it is these stereotypical images of modern sub-cultural styles that are seized upon by sections of the print and broadcast media, such that young people *in toto* are often viewed negatively. Launching *Young People Now*'s 'Positive Images' campaign aiming to counter this negative coverage, Barrett (2004) noted that 75% of newspaper stories about young people are negative. In the same year, for example, *Young People Now* reported;

> A newspaper 'shop-a-yob' bingo campaign has resulted in the identification of all 80 young people featured. The campaign used CCTV images of young people believed to have vandalised buses as bingo squares. Readers of *News Shopper*, a free weekly newspaper for southeast London and north Kent, who could identify three in a row or the four in each corner of the page, could win a digital camera (Anon., 2004).

Young people have frequently served as diagnostic tools for society's ills and the focus of its cure. 'Yob-culture' is the latest social problem demanding a policy solution. And one year into the New Labour government, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (Prior *et al*, 2006: 3) sounded its arrival: the anti-social behaviour order (ASBO) (Fletcher, 2005: 2). More recent legislation – the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 and the Anti-Social Behaviour etc. (Scotland) Act 2004 – has led to an actual increase in the number of ASBOs issued[6] (Squires and Stephen, 2005: 517) and a commensurate rise in the use of the term 'anti-social behaviour' in the UK print media (Prior *et al*, 2006: 5). Prior *et al* report findings from a research survey of all UK newspapers conducted by Waiton (no date), who found that in 1998 the term was used on 214 occasions while in 2002 1,232 instances of its use were recorded (*ibid.*). Moreover, they continue;

> Such reference to anti-social behaviour is frequently coupled with demands for something to be done about it, involving the creation of a new species of 'folk devil' in the form of 'neighbours from hell' as well as the resurrection of an old one as, once again, young people become associated with a particular type of 'deviance' (*ibid.*).

Setting to one side 'additional measures such as curfews and dispersal orders specifically designed for youth'[7], Squires and Stephen suggest that 'something like three quarters of ASBOs are imposed upon young people' (2005: 519) with breach rates between 1st June 2000 and 31st December 2003

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[6] Squires and Stephen note; 'By the end of September 2004, 3,826 orders had been issued, over 3,100 of them in the 18 months after April 2003' (2005: 518).
[7] The exclusionary tactics of curfews and their effects on young people have not escaped geographer's critical gaze. Collins and Kearns (2001) and Matthews *et al* (1999) are two studies that offer forceful critiques of their use, the latter a direct challenge to the measures integral to the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

for those aged 10-17 standing at 47% (Hansard, 2006a)[8], each breach potentially resulting in the receipt of a maximum five-year custodial sentence (Fletcher, 2005: 2). The critical tone of this discussion is not to deny the fact that criminal behaviour conducted by some young people does cause considerable distress to those living in communities throughout the UK, but instead serves to voice criticism of the use of ASBOs to counteract the tendency towards such behaviour. Criminologists have suggested 'that while some have complained that *some* definitions of [anti-social behaviour] take in behaviour that is perfectly legal, a clear majority of the activities and behaviours likely to attract an ASBO and virtually all of the incident categories included in the [anti-social behaviour] day count, during September 2003, were already criminal activities' (Squires and Stephen, 2005: 521; original emphasis). Moreover, ASBO Concern, an alliance advocating the abolition of ASBOs, has noted their displacement effect 'merely mov[ing] anti-social behaviour to a different district' (Fletcher, 2005: 3) – arguments frequently rehearsed during the rise of CCTV, the great panacea of community safety (Fyfe and Bannister, 1996; Koskela, 2000: 246) – and the 'geographical lottery' (*ibid.*: 21) governing their imposition. On a smaller scale ASBO Concern's dossier 'illustrating the difficulties' of their use cites the case of an 18-year old who '[i]n 2004 was made the subject of an ASBO in [Manchester] with a condition not to congregate with three or more other youths';

> He was subsequently arrested for breach of his order when he was entering a local youth club on the grounds that there were more than three youths in the premises. This was a successful club with a good reputation providing a valuable service to young people locally, and on the particular evening the session scheduled for the youths was how to deal with anti-social behaviour (Fletcher, 2005: 5).

Through the imposition of dispersal orders and the setting of curfews or exclusion zones, while boundary obsessed, ASBOs are arguably 'geography-blind'. It is not my desire here to deviate from the task of situating this thesis to engage in a discussion of the imagined[9] or real geographies of ASBOs other than to signpost this as a sphere of enquiry worthy of critical geographers' urgent attention.

Instead, when allied to the 'baggage' outlined in the previous sub-section, this discussion provides the basis for the second motivation behind this research. My *experience* of working with young people means I believe young people cannot be 'put in a box'. The reinforcement of

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[8] The Government is decidedly candid about releasing more recent figures. In response to a question by David Davis MP, Shadow Home Secretary; '(1) what proportion of antisocial behaviour orders issued to (a) under 18s and (b) under 16s have been breached in each year since 1999; (2) what proportion of antisocial behaviour orders have been breached in each year since 1999', Hazel Blears MP, then Home Office Minister wrote; Antisocial behaviour order (ASBO) breach data is currently available from 1 June 2000 to 31 December 2003 for ASBOs issued since 1 June 2000. Age data are for those aged 10-17 and 18 and over. During this period 47 per cent. of ASBOs issued to persons aged 10-17 within the period were breached on one or more occasions. The corresponding percentage for those aged 19 and over is 38 per cent. The overall breach rate is 42 per cent.' (Hansard, 2006a). For a breakdown of these figures by year see Hansard, 2006b.

[9] For example, a recent 'public perceptions of [anti-social behaviour]' study conducted in a London borough revealed that some individuals thought '[anti-social behaviour] only occurs on social housing estates' (Squires and Stephen, 2005: 523). This tendency to place delinquency potentially paints all young people from and beyond these areas with the same broad brush, covering uniqueness and invoking an essentialist and, indeed, environmentally determinist conception of young people.

negative stereotypes of which 'shop-a-yob bingo' is a prime example, is borne of a discourse of *dis*engagement, only operating effectively if a separation between 'adults' and 'young people' is engineered. 'Enforcement-led' (Squires and Stephen, 2005: 517) initiatives such as the ASBO serve to criminalise young people, turning them into 'capital' for the 'ASBO industry' (ASBO Concern, 2006). Practices of 'naming and shaming' serve to enlist 'residents in monitoring the compliance of the young people concerned' (Squires and Stephen, 2005: 523), heralding the era of the neighbour-judge (after Foucault, 1977: 304). The punitive solutions offered by ASBOs eschew consideration of 'an alternative and critical community safety practice which emphasises support, welfare, social justice and needs and the requirement to address social exclusion issues (rather than exacerbate them) through restorative justice approaches and locally accountable mediation initiatives' (Squires and Stephen, 2005: 525). Such approaches will, however, rely upon a shattering of stereotypes, a process conducted by bridging the distances between young people and adults by embracing the liminality of this period of the life-course (James, 1986), especially in terms of legal classifications governing and defining it (Valentine, 2003: 38). ASBOs are 'solutions' to an ill-defined problem: tackling the behaviours rather than dealing with the feelings or social circumstances, exclusions or injustices that likely lead to these behaviours as outcomes. This is, I believe, at least in part, the place of youth work in general and The BB in particular: to get alongside young people and to understand the uniqueness of each individual, their hopes and fears, aspirations and passions. Thus *to me* youth work serves as a more constructive form of social policy. Arguably, though, to seamlessly equate youth work with The BB is duplicitous, and the tension between youth work and youth ministry has already been hinted towards. Undoubtedly, there are those within and without the youth work/ministry fields who would question The BB's methods and values. I contend, however, that such a separation between youth work and youth ministry is itself problematic, and moreover, that the study of The BB as a space of structured youth work with an explicitly Christian ethos provides at least one avenue along which a theorisation of the geographies of youth work can be achieved, *especially* given the transparency of this ethos.

Part of my political motivation behind this work is to raise awareness of The BB and the contribution that it can make as an 'instrument' of constructive social policy *en route* towards demystifying more structured youth work settings generally, of which negative views are held (see *Young People Now* article quoted above [2006: 12]). And perhaps here I style myself on Professor Drummond: in his social context he saw the need for The BB, as I now see an important place for the values and beliefs that the movement propagates in my own. Specifically, I consider its contribution to reside in providing a space that brings adults and young people together – both seeking to understand the other – thus creating a community built on mutual trust and respect rather than a collective of individuals divided by mutual distrust and suspicion reinforced by stereotypes. Although acknowledging the complexities of the concept of 'social capital' (Putnam, 2000; Mohan and Mohan, 2002), I am here in agreement with Payne's assessment when she notes;

An expansion of social capital might provide a positive framework: interactive communities with strong social networks; the development of trust and respect between neighbours; and a community-led, collective and cooperative resolution to local issues. Anti-social behaviour is too subjective a concept. If we wish to help communities, we need to rebuild communities – not divide them (2003: 324).

Undoubtedly, the charge of a naïve romanticism could be levelled at such remarks and my sympathy with them, but setting this forth honestly is, I feel, preferable to a *faux* objectivity, denying one's '*emotional* investment in the work' (Evans, 2000: 273; added emphasis) by neglecting one's 'baggage' and simply proclaiming 'nothing to declare'.

PHILOSOPHICAL MOTIVATIONS

For some, my setting out of such personal motivations will affect their subsequent reading of this thesis as a work of critical human geography. Others, positioned differently, could undoubtedly have produced more overtly *critical* accounts. The BB could, for example, have been cast (albeit problematically) as an instrument of social control or divisive philanthropy, a diagnostic tool for militarism, nationalism or secularisation, or refracted through class and gender analyses. Yet, these are theses only others could write (or I only *after* this). Aside from the stories of key figures shaping key moments, there is a tendency to neglect the ordinary day-to-day routine actions and motivations of those who continually rewrite the story of the movement. It is the individual not the institution which is valorised here. My 'baggage' – my experience of working with, and learning from, those in the movement – does not permit me to do otherwise. With humility and honesty, then, I must from the first acknowledge that others may have found more to criticise than I; yet, criticism (often uninformed, from without) was never my intention. Instead, herein I present a nuanced yet balanced critique (informed, from within). And, in so doing – fulfilling my aforementioned position as an irreverent inmate, although I *do* become both 'saboteur' and 'questioner' of the movement – I always remain, a 'supporter' of its people.

Yet, the above is an acknowledgement, *not* an apology. This thesis is considered a work of critical human geography *precisely because* it emerges from this almost confessional personal standpoint; precisely because it has compassion rather than criticism at its heart. It is contended that this position offers a unique route into the broader philosophical project which this work and its author embrace. The spaces of the voluntary youth work sector, such as those provided by The BB, have largely lurked in the shadows as the renewed interest in the everyday social geographies of young people has steadily advanced. My aim is to draw these spaces into the analytical spotlight. This work is primarily a geography of young people, or, rather, a geography of those spaces in which the geographies of young people and adults intertwine; a geography of the social spaces (re)created and shaped out of negotiated agency, challenges and resistances to the authority (of *both* 'sets' of actors), and yet always interstitial, in which these signifiers of identity are performatively and fleetingly (de)stabilised. This weaving together of the geographies of

participation and provision is part of a project to prevent the ghettoisation of children's geographies within the discipline, paying heed to James' impassioned call that '[i]ssues concerning children should be incorporated into *all* geographic research endeavours' (1990: 282; added emphasis). And at least one theoretical manoeuvre towards this end is the consideration of spaces that young people and adults bring into being through shared action.

This thesis hence nestles comfortably within the corpus of children's geographies, yet it is not reducible to this disciplinary sub-field. Nor is it reducible to the other fields it roams across. Instead, it is located at the confluence of children's geographies, religious geographies, institutional geographies, moral geographies and the geographies of volunteering. Before signposting a route through this thesis, I wish to map its theoretical location by situating it within the development of each of these sub-fields. Each review is comprehensive only in that it teases out how this thesis relates to contemporary research concerns within each. An historical survey of each sub-field is not neglected in teasing out these concerns, but other sources *do* offer more comprehensive 'blow-by-blow' accounts of their trajectories[10]. It is, however, connection rather than division which is this work's watchword; the study which follows aims to bridge these sub-fields. This turn-wise review of existing literature is also designed as a launch pad for the weaving together of these sub-fields through the Foucauldian reading of disciplinary space occupying the first foundational chapter of this thesis.

CHILDREN'S GEOGRAPHIES

G. Stanley Hall's aforementioned definition of adolescence marks for some the starting point of research on 'youth' (Fornäs and Bolin, 1995: 5). Theoretically and semantically, Hall defined the transition between childhood and adulthood as a period of *becoming*. Underpinning this understanding was a notion that there was somehow something 'fixed' about the category 'child' out of which one grows into an equally stable notion of adulthood. French historian Ariès in his now landmark 1962 text *Centuries of Childhood* did much to destabilise this concept of 'the child'. Through careful reading of cultural artefacts, he argued that the concept was historically contingent (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a: 2; Skelton *et al*, 1998: 3). It was only in the fifteenth century, Ariès contends, that children 'escaped into difference' (Jenks, 1996: 65); prior to this date children were considered to be miniature adults and the playthings of the privileged classes (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a: 3). Ariès' work therefore shifted attention away from a *biological* definition of childhood as a developmental phase of the life-course to a *socially* constructed category: the

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[10] The historical development of geographical interest in children and youth is charted by Holloway and Valentine in the introduction to their edited collection *Children's Geographies* (see 2000a: 1-26). Supplemented by the first chapter of Aitken's *Geographies of Young People* (2001: 1-26) and the introduction to Skelton and Valentine's *Cool Places* (1998: 1-32), this provides a comprehensive overview of the field. Similarly, Park's (1994) volume *Sacred Worlds* maps the trajectory of geography's relationship with religion. Read in conjunction with Kong's two reviews (1990, 2001a), this provides a good introduction to this sub-field. Parr and Philo's (2000) editorial to a special issue of *Geoforum* introduces interest in institutional geographies. A series of *Progress Reports* penned by Smith (1997, 1999, 2001), and later Cutchin (2002) and Valentine (2005) provide a useful entry point to the sub-field of moral geographies. Finally, the geographical interest in the voluntary sector is usefully tracked by Milligan and Fyfe (see especially, 2003, 2004).

definition of childhood and, crucially, the experience of *being* a child (James *et al*, 1998: 207) not only varies over time and across space but is also shaped by other markers of identity (e.g., class, race, gender, dis/ability, religion). With this understanding of childhood at its core, the 'new social studies of childhood' (James *et al*, 1998) takes seriously children as social actors. Youth is still conceived of as an interstitial period of the life-course, but now as a social category sitting somewhere between destabilised categories of both childhood and adulthood. It is considered as a liminal zone (James, 1986) reinforced by, often legal (Valentine, 2003) and always contested, socio-spatial inclusions and exclusions (Sibley, 1995: 34). Recognising too the agency of young people, these boundaries are always in a constant state of (re)negotiation with adults (Solberg, 1990 cited in Skelton *et al*, 1998: 5).

It is this understanding, rooted in the growing concern with identity and difference in the social sciences during the 1980s and 1990s (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a: 2), that underpins much contemporary work in the sub-field of children's geographies. In recent years interest in the social geographies of children has burgeoned. The 'traditional' age-range of the field (5-16[11]) is being extended even younger (Gallacher, 2005) and stretched to older age-groups (Hopkins, 2004). A dedicated journal *Children's Geographies* launched in 2003 is now well-established, expanding from two to three issues a year in 2005. Sessions on the geographies of childhood and youth are now standing features at key conferences (e.g., 'Geographies of Age' session at the 2006 RGS (with IBG) conference in London), and increasingly the focus of conferences in their own right (e.g., 'Contested Bodies of Childhood and Youth' in Durham in July 2006, and, 'New Directions in Children's Geographies' in Nottingham in September 2006). Six years after Holloway and Valentine identified the moment of 'critical mass' (2000a: 8), children's geographies has gained a secure foothold in the discipline[12]. Yet, it is far from settled in relation to itself. In a recent challenging and appealing editorial Horton and Kraftl (2005) do much to argue that the sub-field and practitioners who position themselves within its bounds must do *more* to critically reflect on what we are up to (Horton and Kraftl, 2005: 138). Put baldly, we should not rest on our laurels nor get too comfortable, satisfied with 'progress'. Rather, we should take nothing for granted, not least the stability and security of the sub-field itself. This timely caveat notwithstanding, it is nonetheless useful to trace the longer heritage of geographical enquiry into the life-worlds of children and young people for the purposes of positioning this thesis with the sub-field's compass

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[11] Studies tended to focus on this age-range during the late 1990s due to a substantial ESRC funded programme – Children 5-16: Growing into the 21st Century – which comprised 22 separate projects funded between October 1996 and June 2001.

[12] In saying this, however, I do echo earlier concerns (see Kyle, 2001: 8) that, despite this progress, the field of children's geographies is in danger of becoming ghettoised within the discipline (see Philo, 1997: 3), a move which does not embrace in a wholesale fashion James' call to incorporate 'children into all geographical research endeavours' (1990: 278; see below) and which, as part of a thoroughly political project, must recapture the spirit of Bunge's pioneering foundational studies (see also below). This is not, however, a veiled call for *useful* children's geographies: I have no wish to impose this 'singular vision' onto the sub-field (Horton and Kraftl, 2005: 131). Rather, it reflects my own navigation out of a personal impasse: the impossibility of realising a desire to write wonderful geographies of childhood *with* children in a world where the lived reality of childhood for most children is far from full of wonder.

(even if the review that follows hangs on the 'endlessly re-cited and all-too-familiar body of canonical work': *ibid.*: 139).

Growing concern with childhood in the UK can be traced to feminist critique of the output of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham. An alliance of Marxist thought – and most notably, Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony – with a conceptualisation of sub-culture (which between the 1950s and 1970s was almost synonymous with 'delinquency theory' within sociology, criminology and psychology, developed through studies of male, urban gangs [see Fyvel, 1963; Patrick, 1973; Cohen 1967]), resulted in the publication of the Centre's seminal work *Resistance through Rituals* (Hall and Jefferson, 1976). Subsequently criticised by feminists for its focus on 'spectacular male youth' sub-cultural forms (McRobbie and Garber, 1976 quoted in Skelton *et al*, 1998: 16), feminist geographers, working with the recognition that young people are *active* creators of their own culture (rather than passive recipients of adults', as presupposed by the 'Birmingham School'), turned attention towards the ways in which 'microcultures' (Wulff, 1988) conceived as 'flows of meaning which are managed by small groups of people that meet on an everyday basis' (Wulff, 1995 quoted in Matthews *et al*, 1998: 196) are sustained in the more mundane everyday spaces of the 'fourth environment' beyond the school, playground or home (Matthews *et al*, 1998).

Aitken (1994), recounting the history of children in academic geography from a US perspective, tracks interest back to two separate projects during the 1970s. The first, initiated at Clark University by Blaut and Stea (see 1971), was the 'Place Perception Project' (PPP). Their endeavour, owing much to environmental psychology, provided an investigation of how children and young people perceived their spatial environment, and crucially how they represented their own geographies (of spatial movement) through maps. Centring the 'inner worlds' of children, Philo (1997), drawing upon Hart's (1984) bifurcation, suggests that this line of enquiry can be suitably labelled 'children's geographies'. The second strand – the 'geography of children', and more attentive to the conceptualisation sketched above of children as social actors constantly (re)negotiating unequal power relations between themselves and adults (Philo, 1997: 3; Valentine, 1997: 79-80) – can be traced to what Aitken (1994) regards as the second foundational study: Bunge's geographic 'expeditions' in Detroit and Toronto (see 1973, 1975). As a self-styled professional advocate, Bunge's key concern was with the (capitalist) social and property structures which, in recreating the urban environment, crystallised myriad injustices that victimised children. Thus, underlying his detailed maps of the incidence of road traffic accidents or rat bites, for example, was always an overriding mission to 'save the children' (and, for him, *ergo* humanity) from the inequality of the capitalist threat (Bunge 1975 quoted in Philo, 1997: 9). Perhaps due to the short life-span of advocacy geography, its tendency to revolve around key personalities, such as Bunge, or indeed, as Holloway and Valentine assert, the adultist nature of the discipline through the 1980s (2000a: 8), the latter of Aitken's two foundations was not built upon in the discipline. In stark contrast, the approach of the PPP was keenly picked up, for example, by Hart (1979), Spencer

et al (1989) and, most notably, Matthews, whose prolific output (1984a, 1984b, 1984c, 1985a, 1985b, 1986) engaging with this approach ultimately resulted in the publication of his now classic volume *Making Sense of Place* (1992). Indeed, such was the dominance of work in this latter sphere that it became *the* framework through which children were integrated into geography as the 1980s progressed.

A reinvigoration of the geography of children and a reconnection with feminist geography was effected at the end of the 1980s through James' posing of the question; 'Is there a place for children in geography?' (1990). With a resounding yes, James passionately responded;

> During the late 1970s it was suggested that geographers should recognise the existence of women and consider 'How the other half live' (Tivers, 1978) – may I suggest that it is now time to consider how the other third or quarter – the children – live. [...] Encouragement of a child and geography perspective within all streams of geography should be our aim. Issues concerning children should be incorporated into all geographic endeavours. [...] Geographers must view reality thorough the eyes of both children and adults. To do otherwise is to remain more than half blind (1990: 278, 283).

Emerging from a growing discomfort with the legacy of the PPP, and particularly its failure to uncover the 'hidden spaces' of childhood – examined in depth by Ward in his seminal texts *The Child in the City* (1978) and *The Child in the Country* (1990) – or to recognise that children were a marginalised 'outsider' social grouping (Philo, 1992; Matthews, 1995), and invigorated by the contemporaneous re-conceptualisation of social and cultural geography (Philo 1991; see below), children and young people were placed firmly back onto Geography's research agenda. Through a fruitful alliance with feminist geography and engagements by prominent feminist geographers – most notably, Holloway, Valentine and Skelton – this field was carried forward, and an approach spatialising the new social studies of childhood was born by foregrounding the voices, experiences and resistances of children and young people *in place*, a manoeuvre which actively contributed to the deconstruction of key terms such as 'adult', 'child', and 'youth', recasting them as in a constant state of flux and (re)negotiation in and through space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000b).

Providing a helpful framework for situating work within the sub-field of 'children's geographies', Holloway and Valentine (2000a: 9) borrow Laurie *et al*'s (1999) 'three-fold typology of feminist work' to organise current research under three headings: i) the importance of place; ii) spatial discourses; and, iii) everyday spaces. Clearly, as Holloway and Valentine assert (2000a: 18), there is 'cross-linkage' between these categories. Nevertheless, it is the last category – exploration of the everyday spaces of children and young people – into which this research connects. Research in this sphere has arguably concentrated on three key sites: the home, public (usually urban) spaces, and the school (though arguably less so with an attentiveness to the question of scale and resultantly the situatedness of childhood in macro-scale 'political-economic and social-cultural transformations': Philo, 2000: 253).

Reappraisal of each unsettles romantic notions of childhood as a care-free, conflict-free period of maturation and seamless socialisation. For example, the home, recast as a 'locus of power relations' (Sibley, 1995: 92) becomes a site in which dependencies are scrambled: e.g., the supposedly cared *for* become 'young carers' (Becker *et al*, 1998; Segal and Simkins, 1993), in which adult-child (and child-child) power relations are contested (Aiken, 1994), family rules and regulations dictating appropriate behaviour actively (re)negotiated (Wood and Beck, 1990) and space itself struggled over (Sibley, 1995). Similarly, research on young people within public space has teased out the plethora of place-based inclusions and exclusions that young people must navigate whilst growing up. Valentine (1996) has noted that the debate over young people's presence in public space – largely perceived as *adult* space – revolves around how parents perceive the risks of such spaces. While what she terms Apollonian children are *at risk* in public places, unruly (Dionysian) children *risk* adult control of public space (Valentine, 1996). Young people are frequently constructed as being 'out of place' – particularly on 'the street' – either because they are perceived to be 'up to something', especially when 'hanging about' in large numbers, or because their playful use of space is considered unproductive and incompatible with the adult purpose of that space (Matthews *et al*, 2000; Thomson and Philo, 2004). And, here young people's eviction from public spaces of mass private property, e.g., the shopping mall, or 'moving on' from 'the street', due to their perceived threat to the prevailing (consumer, moral) order is exemplary (France and Wiles, 1997: 69). In part, this positioning 'out of place' arises from the distinct mismatch between formal (adult provided) leisure spaces and children's preferred play environments (Ward, 1978, 1990; Sibley, 1991). While some have turned their attention to the exclusions, be they financial, a result of the uneven geographies of provision or arising from the planning process itself, that militate against young people's use of formal (commercial) leisure spaces (Hill and Michelson, 1981; Moore and Young, 1978; Ward, 1978, 1990; McKendrick *et al*, 1999; McKendrick *et al* 2000; Smith and Barker, 2001; Matthews and Limb, 1999), far more work has explored the ways in which young people either openly resist the designated function of these spaces or subtly appropriate them, imbuing them with different sets of meanings (Aitken and Ginsberg, 1988; Rasmussen, 2004; Tranter and Malone, 2004; Childress, 2004; Coninck-Smith and Gutman, 2004; Factor, 2004; Thomson, 2005). Others have explored how young people 'carve out' play spaces in natural rural settings or urban environments supposedly unsuitable for 'play', e.g., building sites, wasteground and all manner of 'small' or 'redundant spaces' in the 'adult' fabric of villages, towns and cities (Wood, 1985; Ward, 1990). Moreover, recent interventions have begun to deconstruct play itself. Thomson and Philo (2004), for example, suggest that play is as much a state of being (or, indeed, dreaming [see Philo 2003]) as it is one of doing, whereas Harker postulates that since 'playing isn't all fun and games' (2005: 48) it 'occurs at the intersection of being and becoming' (*ibid*.: 58). As a formal site of socialisation, the school too has been opened up to critical scrutiny. Born of a desire to occupy young people's time away from the factory floor as thinking shifted towards a view of children as a resource to the protected rather

than exploited (Valentine, 2001: 143), schools are as much a 'hotbed of moral geographies' (*ibid*.: 144) today as they were when nineteenth century social reformers and factory owners (e.g., Robert Owen) founded schools to ensure social stability. Schools continue to play a pivotal role in the containment, control and socialisation of children, preparing them for adult roles (Aitken, 1994), and are key locations in which differences between children are actively reinscribed (Holloway and Valentine, 2000a: 14). Despite a dearth of research on 'the school' within human geography in recent years (Valentine, 2003: 42), Fielding (2000) observes in terms applicable beyond the particular school under study to 'the school' as a social space;

> Unprofessional practices aside, what struck me was that the school, its beliefs and practices was a 'hot bed' of moral geographies – of moral codes about how and where children ought to learn and behave – and that the ways in which these were played out by the children (the children's geographies) were of significant importance (2000: 231).

These geographies, Fielding argues, are established 'through the moral beliefs and practices of governors, headteachers, teachers, learning support assistants, the local education authority (LEA), Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and central government' (*ibid*.: 234) or through the micro-management of teachers' classrooms that their professional autonomy affords (Valentine, 2001: 145). In many ways, then, 'the school' is a close comparator for a *critical* understanding of a BB Company. Both are partial institutions in which children (or in The BB's case, exclusively boys) spend part of their week. Distinct moral geographies are realised in each through dictated guidance and adults' reconfiguration of space. On one level, The BB is *another* adult-provided leisure activity. On another, as a site of socialisation, adults provide a form of leisure that occupies young people's time with activity considered to be both useful and productive (cf. Thomson and Philo, 2004). Its Object emphasises a particular set of habits and a distinctly religious end (see CHAPTER FIVE). Imbued with a specifically religious ethos, the space of a BB Company works towards the 'promotion' of a particular type of citizen and the advancement of a particular religious affiliation. Consideration of these spaces of religious socialisation has largely been absent (though see Valins, 2003) as attention has turned towards the everyday spaces of children and young people. It is this absence which this thesis addresses.

'RELIGIOUS' GEOGRAPHIES

For some, Kant's (1793) volume *Religion within the Boundaries of Pure Reason* marks the dawn of religious geography. Others regard Kasche as the father of the field (Park, 1994), Kasche's 1795 book *Ideas on Religious Geography* contains the first use of the term 'geography of religions' (*ibid*.). Yet, the contradiction in terminology highlighted by this text runs deeper through the sub-field; it is forever struggling to define itself in terms of the schism at its heart between religious geography and geography of religion. This tension has led successive reviewers to claim it to be a 'field in disarray' (Tuan, 1976: 271), doubt 'whether there can be such a field at all' (Sopher, 1981:

510) or as 'a diverse and fragmented endeavour within geography' (Stump, 1986: 1). More recently, commentators have reflected that the limited interest in religion within academic geography is incommensurate with its 'prominence [...] in the contemporary [...] cultural and political landscape' particularly in the United States (Proctor, 2006). Charges of conflation between race and religion have also been levelled (Kong, 2001a: 212), yet overcome through careful interweavings of these two markers of identity (see, e.g., Hopkins, 2004). Despite a range of scholarship within the sub-field incorporating, e.g., studies of the distributions of religious populations (Zelinsky, 1961); ceremonial landscapes (Fickeler, 1962); 'deathscapes' (Kong, 1999; Morris, 1997; Mythum, 1994); embodied religious/spiritual experiences (e.g., pilgrimages [Tanaka, 1977; Kruse, 2003], séances [Holloway, 2006]); the impact of technology on religious practice (Kong, 2001b); environmental theology or theology's interplay with ecology (Buttimer, 2006); religious schooling and socialisation (McDannell, 1995; Valins, 2003); contestation over 'sacred' space (e.g., in Jerusalem [Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2002a; and ensuing *Geoforum* discussion: Faludi, 2002; Khamaisi, 2002; Hasson, 2002; Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2002b], Northern Ireland [Shirlow and McGovern, 1998; Graham, 1998] or in Australia [Jacobs, 1993, 1996]); or the folding of religion into identity (Hopkins, 2004; Dwyer, 1999) and out-folding of religious identity through spatial practice (Valins, 1999, 2000), the scope of the field itself is frequently subjected to debate (Tuan, 1976; Sopher, 1981; Levine, 1986; Cooper, 1992; Kong, 1990, 2001a). Countering Sopher's charge that 'there is little of coherence, continuity and common purpose that would make for the genesis of a recognisable field' (1981: 510), in her own review Kong 'argue[s] that the [sub-]field does not deserve existing evaluations of incoherence, that it is in fact distinguished by rich diversity, yet simultaneously significant coherence, albeit a theoretical coherence that [she] read[s] into the range of empirical work from an *a posteriori* position' (2001a: 212). For Kong, this coherence centres around the poetics/politics of religious place, identity and community, and the task ahead for her is then the unravelling of this dyad as it plays through each. In her conclusion, however, she sets out seven 'differentiations' providing an agenda for future attention;

> '[N]ew' geographies of religion must take on board more actively: 1) different sites of religious practice beyond the 'officially sacred'; 2) different sensuous sacred geographies; 3) different religions in different historical and place-specific contexts; 4) different geographical scales of analysis; 5) different constitutions of population; 6) different dialectics; and 7) different moralities (Kong, 2001: 228).

The concerns of this thesis fall squarely within the first of these avenues of enquiry. While finding appealing Kong's preference for action over introspection, in situating this thesis within the sub-field, and particularly Kong's mapping of the 'new' geographies of religion, I nevertheless spend some time navel-gazing, delving into the 'boundary crisis' signalled at this section's outset. I do so because I believe that there are lessons in the sub-field's past which are particularly pertinent to its future explorations, especially along the trails Kong has signposted. Moreover, the understanding

sketched here gains renewed significance in the final chapter of this thesis. I begin, then, by returning to the tension between religious geography and geography of religion, and, specifically, Stump's (1986) characterisation of each.

For Stump, religious geography 'focuses on religion's role in shaping human perceptions of the world and of humanity's place within it; its primary concerns are the role of theology and cosmology in the interpretation of the universe' (1986: 1 quoted in Park, 1994: 18). The geography of religion on the other hand deals;

> less with religion *per se* than with its social, cultural and environmental associations and effects. This approach views religion as a human institution, and explores its relationships with various elements of its human and physical setting (*ibid.*).

Surveying the sub-field, Park (1994) has noted that 'the balance of attention' has shifted towards the latter of these two strands, and there has been a consequent downplaying of religious geography, variously regarded as geoteleology (by Tuan, 1968) or geosophy (by Stump, 1986). While noting the tendency for work within the French School during both the 1940s and 1950s to be 'descriptive and deterministic' (Park, 1994: 17), largely carrying forward work from the nineteenth century, and adding that since the start of the twentieth century there 'are no signs of the emergence of a British school of geographers of religion' (Park, 1994: 18), it is work in Germany and the United States, particularly within a Sauerian conception of cultural geography, that has largely defined the geography of religion. Yet, there are connections between Bonn and Berkeley. Park notes that it was Troll, a geographer at Bonn, who 'urged his friend Fickeler' (1994: 16) to describe 'what a geography of religion based on purely geographical principles should look like' (Büttner, 1980: 96 quoted in *ibid.*). Fickler promptly responded, and in 1947 published a paper in *Erdkunde* entitled *Grundfragen der Religionsgeographie* (Park, 1994: 16). Subsequently published in English in 1962, the appearance of this translation is more than serendipitous; that *Fundamental Questions in the Geography of Religions* is published in a volume entitled *Readings in Cultural Geography* edited by Wagner and Mikesell is significant. Setting forth his reply to Troll's challenge, Fickeler writes;

> The relations between religion and environment are mutual, so that their investigation can be approached under two main headings: How does the environment, including the people, the landscape, and the country, affect a religious form? And how, reciprocally, does a religious form affect a people, landscape, and country? The investigation of the first topic is a task for the science of religion, to which geography furnishes the necessary particulars about landscapes and regions; the investigation of the second problem, in contrast, is more the task of the geography of religions, to which the science of religion and other cultural sciences provide the necessary foundation (Fickeler, 1962: 94).

By posing these two questions – and restricting the scope of the geography of religion to addressing the second – Fickeler not only forced a split in the sub-field that would remain unresolved until Sopher's (1967) rapprochement (Park, 1994: 17), but also paved the way for Sauer's protégés to marry his conception of the cultural landscape (Sauer, 1925; see Mitchell, 2000: 27) with the religious phenomena that Fickler highlighted as worthy of attention. Fickeler's definition of the focus of the sub-field as 'concerned above all with ceremonial religion' (1962: 95) and how the sanctification of the landscape is secured through colours, directions, positionings, motion, numbers, times, plants, animals, and sounds, opens the door to Zelinsky's (1961) delimitation of cultural regions. At the outset of Zelinsky's (1961) paper, then, he;

> hope[s] that this paper may provide not only a first approximation of the nation's religious regions and an introductory statement of the shape and meaning of areal variations in American religious characteristics, but that it may also contribute some material toward our still quite shadowy delineation of the general cultural regions of Anglo-America and stimulate some thought as to the variety of ways in which religious data might be used in other kinds of geographical work (Zelinsky, 1961: 139).

Zelinsky recognises the methodological difficulties arising from such a task. Pondering such questions he writes;

> Should the geographer confine his [*sic.*] interest to formal adherence to the various creeds? Or if he rejects this approach, how does he measure and study the intensity of religious belief and observance in all their endless ramifications? Is religion cause or effect in the cultural landscape, or somehow both? Should the geographer simply note the material manifestations of religion, as in the settlement landscape, economic processes, or political relations, or should he concentrate on the inward, spiritual aspects of what is essentially an incorporeal phenomenon? (1961: 141).

While his penultimate question is a faint echo of Fickler's, in answer to his final one he opts for the former approach, noting; 'most of those geographers who have pioneered in the study of religion have had to restrict their attention to the effects of religious faith and practice on the cultural scene, especially architecture, urban and village morphology, and other phases of the settlement landscape' (*ibid.*). Here Zelinsky is thinking not only of Fickler's work but the studies of Deffontaines (1948), Isaac (1959) and Credner (1947), and, indeed, anticipates later work, e.g., Landing's (1969) modelling of cultural zones within Amish settlements or Tanaka's (1977) 'mapping' of the spatial-temporal order of a Buddhist pilgrimage through thorough cataloguing of 'assemblages of landscape markers' and observation of pilgrim behaviour on Shikoku Island, Japan. Such was the dominance of this *cultural* approach to the geography of religion that, when penning a review of the field 25 years later, Levine notes; '[g]eography of religion' is found to be 'a sub-field of cultural geography which has lacked theoretical debate' (1986: 428).

Tuan had voiced similar concerns a decade earlier;

> The field is in disarray for lack of a coherent definition of the phenomenon it seeks to understand. Research on barns and house types is cultural geography, but research on churches and temples seems to belong to the geography of religion. Why is feng-shui, a technique for locating graves and houses not treated as a branch of applied geography or even of surveying? Is it deemed religious because some practices in geomancy appear supernatural or magical to the Western scholar? A field so lacking in focus and so arbitrary in its selection of themes cannot hope to achieve intellectual maturity (1976: 271).

Recontextualised within the historical trajectory of the discipline, Tuan's critique, while forceful, is even-handed. Just as cultural geography had effected an escape from environmental determinism through Sauer's seminal studies of culture, Tuan too hopes that the geography of religion has a part to play in humanistic geography's escapology from the shackles of spatial science. Notwithstanding several studies clearly adopting a positivist approach (e.g., Murdie, 1965; Stoddard, 1968), nestled in the relative safety of the Sauerian Berkeley School 'the impact of the scientific-positivist thrust [on the geography of religion] in the 1960s [was] weak' (Sopher, 1981: 511). For Sopher this is a source of disappointment: for Tuan, of hope. While then blunt, for Tuan the geographical study of religion anticipates a vital weapon in the fight to centre humans – their loves, hates, passions, desires and, vitally, beliefs – in a reformulated humanistic geography (see Cloke *et al*, 1991: 57-92). But, unlike Zelinsky, who, when faced with the methodological 'difficulty of obtaining adequate data on other phases of religion or of making direct observations on its non-material aspects', avoided consideration of 'the inward, spiritual aspects of what is essentially an incorporeal phenomenon' (1961: 141; see above), these latter aspects are precisely drawn into Tuan's work. Re-defining religion as the 'the impulse for coherence and meaning' (1976: 272), Tuan remarks;

> Ultimate concern is the emotion-charged expression for the kingpin of a system of beliefs or the central principle that binds the components of a worldview. The central principle may be God, the belief that 'God does not play dice', a social or ecological ethic, or a concept of justice or of historical development. In this view, Buddhism is as much a religion as Christianity, and atheistic Communism is a religion no less than agnostic Confucianism. At the individual level, Albert Einstein was as religious as Thomas Aquinas; their kingpins differed but not their *passion* for a meaningful cosmos (1976: 271; added emphasis).

Although some later charged Tuan with Anglo-centrism for his tracing of the word religion through its Latin root *religare* (Sopher, 1981; Cooper, 1992), other, more recent commentators criticise the definition on the grounds that it does not clearly delimit its focus of enquiry;

> If as distinguished a geographer as Yi-Fu Tuan could define religion as 'the impulse for coherence and meaning' [...] we might be excused for wondering about the coherence of the subfield studying this impulse. How, for instance, does it differ from the impulses underlying science or art? And what

does such a definition exclude (save for the impulse to incoherence and meaninglessness)? (Ivakhiv, 2006: 169).

Certainly it is true Tuan's conception of religion expands considerably any geographical endeavours taking this definition as its core. Ivakhiv, however, takes the question 'what is religion?' as his starting point, attempting to 'steer a path away from this terminological snag' (2006: 169) by deconstructing religion (and indeed the sacred) as a signifier, and arguing that 'if geographers are not to take for granted the meanings of these terms, then the phenomena of religion and sacrality ought to be studied (1) as ways of distributing significance across geographic spaces, and (2) as involving the distinction of different kinds of significance from among those being distributed' (2006: 171). Considering as crucial Chidester and Linenthal's (1995: 18) assertion that 'sacred space is contested for the simple reason that it is spatial' (*ibid.*: 171), Ivakhiv notes;

> Space, then is always already *significant* space, and it is the task of geographers to study the ways in which specific meaning and significations are articulated and spatialised, contested and negotiated, by different human [and religious] communities (interacting with nonhuman organisms and material processes) (*ibid.*: 172; original emphasis).

Such an understanding, like Tuan's, similarly enlarges the scope of the sub-field. Given the resulting destabilisation of the term religion, Ivakhiv reflects that it ought always to reside within quotation marks. 'But', he continues, 'even if religion might be a word better written in quotation marks, this is certainly no reason for there not to be a robust and flourishing geography of 'religion'. If the quotation marks surrounding the word religion in our article indicate a hesitation in our research, it is a hesitation that should have the effect of broadening our investigations, and at the same time of thickening or deepening them in the concrete particulars of place and cultural and material location' (*ibid.*: 173).

But might not our investigations also be deepened by reawakening the individual, a sleeping presence in Ivakhiv's analysis? He implies so himself in drawing the paper to a close;

> Religion can be seen as a marker of identity (like ethnicity or social class), or as a broad category of societal concern (like science, art, or law). From within [i.e., from an individual's viewpoint], it can seem all-important (what else can rival its significance?) or merely redundant (what else is there?). From without, it can appear alien, bizarre, or just an innocuous impediment (*ibid.*: 173).

Yet, Ivakhiv arguably does not take the individual seriously enough. In his reading of Tuan's oft-cited definition with which his paper opens he finds a struggle to define religion within the bounds of language. Pursuing the question 'what is religion?', in a post-structural manoeuvre his task is one of deconstruction. For Tuan, however, the core of the sub-field does not lie within the realm of language. 'Religion' is not the core of geographical endeavour but something else, an 'emotion-charged expression', an 'impulse'; something passionate and intimately personal. In short, the quest for meaning in one's existence, and a faith in that found, not religion *per se*, lies at its heart.

Tuan is concerned, then, with an altogether different question: 'what am I?'. Following Tillich, this is intimately and ultimately an existential question only answerable by the one who poses it (Brown, 1965)[13]. Yet, drawing on Tuan's writing elsewhere, it is not answerable solely within oneself but in *relation* to the world;

> Consider introspection: if we draw the blinds and turn out the world so as to contemplate our inner nature, it is likely that we shall be rewarded with mere oblivion – that is, fall asleep (Tuan, 1971: 181)

Levine acknowledges that the particularity of religion in time and place has led some to suggest that 'it [is] impossible to speak of unique faiths and only of personal experience of such faith' (1986: 432), but he nevertheless argues that 'the primary focus of the geography of religion lies not in the study of the individual religious experience, but, rather, centres on religion in an instituted, social form' (*ibid.*: 430). For Levine, 'religion, while it is a deeply personal experience, is inevitably a social phenomenon. It is a habitualised, routinised, institutionalised form of human interaction' (*ibid.*: 434). Put simply, 'religion is an institution' (*ibid.*); and, while it is true that religion does find institutional expression, this is not *all* geographers ought to consider. Kong later rounds on Levine's remarks;

> Geographers like Sopher (1967) and Levine (1986) have asserted that geography cannot and must not deal with the personal religious experience, but the personal religious experience with place is at least one avenue that can and should be explored (1990: 367).

An extroverted introversion – how inward faith is thought through in *relation* to the world – energises Sopher's understanding of religious geography; 'the way in which the religious man [*sic.*], informed by his faith, he sees his world and his place in it' (1981: 518). One experiences place through faith but also, reciprocally, faith through place; they are mutually constitutive.

Our place in the world is both the source of our ultimate concern and our means of addressing it. In a recent paper Ferber suggests that 'the distinction between geography of religion and religious geography has indeed become intricately linked with the insider/outsider status of the researcher' (2006: 179). And it is certainly the case that some of those working within this sub-field of study make explicit their own faiths (of various flavours) in their work (see above). But could not a more expansive reformulation of the 'religious', following Ivakhiv, also encompass the work of the aforementioned activist geographers? In each case, internal struggles with one's place in the world leads to a desire to act, to divert their *passion* towards the goal of a 'better', more equitable, just world. As Ley reminds us; 'the revolution must be spiritual as well as institutional' (1974: 71). There is a clear danger here of slipping into the realm of 'moral geographies' (see

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[13] 'God', for Tillich, 'is the answer to the question implied in man's [*sic.*] finitude; he is the name for that which concerns man ultimately. This does not mean that first there is a being called God and then the demand that man should be ultimately concerned about him. It means that whatever concerns a man ultimately becomes God for him, and conversely, it means that a man can be concerned ultimately only about that which is God for him' (1951: 211).

below), but perhaps this is the point. In both spheres it is personal ponderings that prompt action. Sopher's definition of religious geography recast as 'the way in which the religious person, informed by their faith, they see their world and their place in it *and act*' is the foundation for a geography of 'religion', conceived now to carry a much broader sense of human 'communion' with the spiritual or transcendent. Yet, reconsidered (following Tuan) as impulses inspired by belief or emotion-charged expressions of faith, these actions stem from the existential questioning of one's place in the world in relation to that which is the root of their belief; i.e., *their* intimate yet ultimate concern. The product of these questionings are not answers but the reconfiguration of spaces, the sanctification of ceremonial landscapes, the contestations over place through which religion is signified (and subsequently contested and reshaped), providing a route towards further musings or answers. And herein lies a resolution to the boundary crisis: for the geography of 'religion' is intimately bound to religious geography; both are held in relation. Continually wrestling with this boundary crisis within the realm of language is exilic, we will, as Sartre famously suggests, lose our place in the world and to do so is, following Tuan, to fall asleep. On one level, then, the geography of religion is as much about the *geographers* of religion attempting to answer their own existential questionings; the sub-field itself an act of searching just as this thesis is an act of my own. On another, this view opens up institutional expressions of faith not merely as phenomenon impressed on the landscape but faith inspired *actions*. Questioning individuals searching for answers to their own place in the world are motivated to act individually or collectively to bring into being places where themselves and others can embark upon such questionings. Thus, here it is the personal experience of faith as something that impels action which is considered, that which motivates to bring into being an institutional form. It is an approach that answers Kong's call to take seriously both the 'landscapes and locations' of moral geographies (2001: 228), as well as those spaces not 'officially sacred' (*ibid*.: 226) yet which in their reconfiguration are fleetingly sacralised. Returning full circle, it is Kant's 'invisible church' *realising* the visible that is the focus here. While, then, on the surface the title of this subsection appears erroneous – what follows is clearly a geography of religion; i.e., the study of the partially sacralised, partially institutionalised yet substantive everyday space of (religious) socialisation. It is at one and the same time a religious geography; how individuals inspired by faith act to reconfigure space for this very purpose, bringing *into being* a BB Company.

MORAL GEOGRAPHIES

Moves towards a 'moral turn' within human geography can, Smith notes, be traced to 'proceedings of a conference organised by the Social and Cultural Geography Study Group of the Institute of British Geographers' (Smith, 1997: 583) and particularly a key discussion document (Philo, 1991) drawing on five 'position papers' written in 1990. Through a re-reading of Kant's philosophy in particular, 'the moral' had been '(re)discovered' by human geography; 'we believe that we have succeeded in (re)connecting our inquiries to the sorts of concerns that have on occasion appeared

under the heading of *moral philosophy*' (Philo, 1991: 14; original emphasis). In equally celebratory tone, six years after the conference which proved its catalyst, Smith (1997) – albeit questioningly – heralded the arrival of a moral turn. Yet, in a later *Progress Report*, a decade after Philo's compilation, Smith writes;

> I might have exaggerated the 'moral turn' [...], perhaps misreading yet another transient twist in the tortuous disciplinary trajectory which we take to be progress (2001: 261).

Citing as his evidence the lack of emergence of a 'coherent body of literature spanning the interface' between geography and ethics (Smith, 2001: 265), and voicing his 'concern that much remains to be done in forging links between two hitherto largely separated disciplines' (*ibid.*: 266), thus echoing earlier observations (see Smith, 1999: 123), Smith signs off his final *Report* with a challenge;

> Geographers are still not sufficiently versed in the complexities of ethics. And we have done very little to induce moral philosophers to enter our world of difference (Smith, 2001: 266).

Despite this, *within* geography, scholars have done much to embark upon a thorough exploration of the ethical terrain, the journal *Ethics, Place and Environment* founded in 1998 partly serving as their travelogue. Sharing radical roots with the sub-field of children's geographies, notably Bunge's concern for 'values' and 'rights', and keeping a similar core tenet of social justice in clear view, in recent years geographers have examined areas ranging from development ethics (see Corbridge, 1998; Crocker, 1991; Grimes, 1999) to environmental ethics (Proctor, 1995, 1998, 1999). Currently, attention is (re)turning to professional practice, signalling a shift away from the universalising tendency of moral codes produced by the 'ethics committee' towards committed reflexive ethical praxis when conducting research, and a commitment to political pedagogy, undergirded by a sense of moral responsibility to others at varying distances from home to whom we are bound through a complex web of social and economic (inter)relations (see Valentine, 2005, Cloke, 2002; Smith, 2000). This 'reflect[ion] upon [geographers'] own morality' (Philo, 1991: 17) chimes with Philo's earlier concern that as geographers we do not 'become moralists urging great moral imperatives on geographers and laying down moral codes about how we should and should not operate as geographers' (1991: 15). That is, in our twin academic roles of teaching and research, ethical practice is borne of *critical* (self-)reflection. Smith's concern too is being addressed through the development of what Cutchin (2002: 661) terms 'geoethical theories' that are 'adding more nuance to our understanding of what is possible in the marriage of moral and geographical thought' (*ibid.*).

Through his regular reviews of progress (1997, 1999, 2001; see also 2000), Smith has done much to draw together what at first sight appear disparate lines of enquiry into a 'threefold taxonomy' (Proctor, 1998: 11) through which to read the sub-field and position work – such as this – on the spectrum of geography's engagement with ethics. Smith delimits the scope of meta-

ethics: 'what it means to think or do ethics' (1997: 584). Considered as theoretical ethics, 'meta-ethics concerns the meaning of such terms as good and bad, right and wrong, ought or should, i.e., the language of moral discourse' (1997: 585). Yet, given the diversity of the dialogue between philosophers arriving at moral discourse from a range of philosophies, Smith suggests that the complexities of this debate 'seem best left to philosophers' (*ibid.*);

> steeped in the vast and complex literature, and familiar with its torturous interrogations of such questions as whether a passer-by should rescue a famous cleric or family member, or whether Alice ought to give Bert a banana [...]. Fools rushing in, reinventing the wheel or slipping on banana skins are evident dangers (*ibid.*).

This is not to deny that geographers should debate such questions. And, indeed, doing so serves as a crucial counterpoint to largely aspatial philosophical approaches to 'the moral'. Navigating our 'world of difference' as geographers we uncover places full of situated moral judgements. Philosophers arguably overlook such *lived* difference in favour of reflection on 'the moral' as an abstract concept neglecting consideration of its geographical dimensions and effects. Geographers engaging with the work of philosophers and *vice versa* is therefore essential, and Smith finds at least one fruitful entry point to engagement in the 'tension between universalism and relativism' (1997: 585), and particularly, Billington's 'discussion of relativism versus absolutism [which] includes the question of how judgements can be 'made geographically' [...], i.e., among different ideas about how to behave held in one place as opposed to another' (*ibid.*: 586).

It is Smith's delineation of 'descriptive ethics' that is, however, most apposite to the theoretical approach adopted by this thesis. Although not necessarily conducted by geographers, Proctor notes that these exercises in applied ethics provide 'a rich account of the ways morality interweaves with the geographies of everyday life' (1998: 11)[14]. Work within this compass deploys a range of terms to examine these 'interweavings' as diverse as the subject matter under investigation. For example, Ploszajska (1994) prefers to use term the 'moral landscapes' in her examination of Red Lodge reformatory and Redhill farm school in Bristol and rural Surrey, respectively (see CHAPTER ONE). Ogborn and Philo (1994) favour the term 'moral location', while others make use of 'moral discourse' (Livingstone, 1991), 'moral order' (Jackson, 1984) and 'moral terrains' (Proctor, 1995), or tease out 'moral topographies' in the writings of others (Cresswell, 1998). Smith, drawing on Philo's own observation that by 1991 'one or two writers have begun to refer to [...] *moral geographies*'[15] (1991: 16; original emphasis), adopts this term in his *Reports*, a practice Cutchin follows in his own (see 2002: 657) and replicated in the subtitle of

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[14] It is conventional to reserve the term 'ethics' for *professional* practice (e.g., university research ethics committees, medical ethics) or exploration of ethics as a branch of knowledge. 'Morality', on the other hand, is often used to refer to *personal* practices of conduct and behaviour. In reality both are used interchangeably having to do with good and bad, what one ought to do or ought not to do, right and wrong: witness, for example, the historical substitution of ethics with moral philosophy or contemporary application of the term ethical to one's lifestyle choices or investment practices.

[15] See, for example, Driver, 1988b and Schama, 1988.

this thesis. Yet, to straightforwardly class such moral geographies as 'descriptive ethics' – shorthand for descriptions of ethics at play – is arguably a sleight of hand. There is here a crucial distinction to be made between descriptive ethics as, albeit place-based, explorations of moralities wed to philosophical debate, and substantive studies in, say, historical or social geography attentive to how particular material spaces and places, landscapes and locations are moralised. In the former, explorations in place still contribute toward a philosophical and abstract debate around the constitution and limits of morality. The latter, on the other hand, take rather different problematics as their starting point, perhaps, the outworkings of power or discourse over space and, alert to the processes through which particular places are coded as moral or immoral, consider the ways such 'codings' subsequently affect both experience in place, or indeed, the reconfiguration of space to challenge or sustain particular moral codings. Put simply, lived, experienced place becomes more that a mere 'container' for abstract philosophical experimentation, but an agent in the formulation of moral judgements. Thus, alongside 'investigation of moral geographies [that] tackle the geography *in* everyday moralities [i.e., that] moral assumptions and arguments often have built into their very heart thinking about space, place, environment, landscape and (in short) geography' (Philo, 1991: 16; original emphasis), Philo also establishes a second line of enquiry in an oft-quoted passage of the aforementioned proceedings;

> In one sense such an investigation will take us towards the moral 'relativists', in that we seek to establish the geography *of* everyday moralities given by the different moral assumptions and supporting arguments that particular peoples in particular places make about 'good' and 'bad' / 'right' and 'wrong' / 'just' and unjust' / 'worthy' and 'unworthy'. There can be little doubt that these assumptions and arguments *do* vary considerably from one nation to the next, from one community to the next, from one street to the next: and it is also evident that the lines of variation overlap in many ways with variations between people and places in terms of social class, ethnic status, religious belief and political affiliation (to name but a few possibilities) (*ibid.*: original emphasis).

Notwithstanding the fact that it is precisely such geographical sensibilities that cause us as geographers difficulty when engaging with the place-less tendency of much moral philosophy, it is noteworthy that a close reading of this passage pinpoints a route of entry into the 'tension' that Smith flags above, and it is this potential that Proctor seizes upon. Translating the phrase 'moral geographies' as 'thick descriptions of the moral features of place' (1998: 13), he argues, echoing my own earlier anxiety, that;

> To call this work 'descriptive ethics' is missing something [...] since place-based ethical enquiry may be closer to the mark of understanding human morality than its placeless equivalents, which are common in more abstract and meta-ethical enquiry (*ibid.*).

To be attentive to morality *in place* is to remain cognisant of the fact 'that the diverse places geographers study are inescapably normative, that normativity is not so much something to be added onto place as to be teased out of it' (*ibid.*). Put another way, notions of the (im)moral *always*

play through, and are constituted by, the configuration and reconfiguration of material spaces on a variety of scales, be it a ballroom in which 'right' forms of bodily movement are regulated (Cresswell, 2006) or an urban park's moralising presence (Pipkin, 2005), to name but two recent interventions in the sub-field. The present work sits on two distinct, but interwoven, scales. First, in its delineation of (im)moral landscapes at a community level, it analyses how these imagined geographies *of* morality spur voluntary action insofar as adults provide leisure spaces for young men in these communities partly *through* their moral 'readings' of these communities. In short, to borrow Billington's dictum (albeit slightly out of context) how judgements over the 'right place' – the place young men *ought* to be – are 'made geographically'. Secondly, reconnecting with earlier remarks made at the end of the previous section, interest here also lies with how this place of religious socialisation serves to enshrine acceptable codes of behaviour, i.e., a particular 'art of right living' (Matless, 1995) is effected through the reconfiguration of a fairly mundane church, community, or school hall into a disciplinary 'architecture'.

INSTITUTIONAL GEOGRAPHIES

Institutions matter. Recognition of this fact has led to a recent resurgence of concern for institutions within geography and related social science disciplines. Development economics has a long standing interest in institutions, crystallised in the debate at its heart between 'the geography hypothesis' and 'the institutions hypothesis' (Presbitero, 2006). Despite Rodrik and Subramanian adding a third 'integration view' focussing on 'international trade as a driver of productivity change and income growth' (2003: 31), '[t]he two main candidates to explain the fundamental causes of differences in prosperity between countries are geography and institutions' (Acemoglu, 2003). Notwithstanding the fact that debate in *this* field rests upon a *separation* of geography from institutions, and, moreover, a separation founded on underdeveloped conceptualisations of each, in others a more critical *interweaving* of geography and institutions has been effected. Indeed, such is the chorus of voices echoing the call to take institutions seriously that commentators now speak of an 'institutional turn' within the social sciences over the past quarter century (Jessop, 2001: 1213), evidenced within geography by a growing focus upon institutions in industrial geography through the emergence of 'key [institutional] concepts [...] in the geographical literature on firm formation and regional development' (Yeung, 2000: 304), and, within the last 15 years, the rise of institutionalism within economic geography (Amin, 2001: 1237). This resurgence of interest with the institution has not, however, been confined to the sub-disciplinary container 'economic geography'. Instead, *this* debate has been heavily influenced by interventions from social and cultural geography, and particularly Philo and Parr's (2000) editorial introducing a theme section of *Geoforum* on 'institutional geographies'. Shifting attention away from 'traditional' concern with 'total institutions' (Goffman, 1961) – e.g., asylums (Foucault, 1973; Goffman, 1961), prisons (Foucault, 1977; Ogborn, 1995), reformatories (Driver, 1990; Ploszajska, 1994) – and a plethora of 'partial institutions' – e.g., nursery and primary schools (Gallacher, 2005; Fielding, 2000), work

(Crang, 2000), leisure spaces (McKendrick *et al*, 2000) – they use a re-reading of Flowerdew's 1982 edited collection *Institutions and Geographical Patterns* to contend that institutions can be re-considered as 'precarious' 'geographical accomplishments' (Philo and Parr, 2000: 513, 518). Taking deinstitutionalisation (particularly with respect to mental health care) as a launch pad, they argue that;

> Institutional geographies are practically and conceptually shaped in many different ways. This means that we do not have to be discussing just one visible institution anchored in a single location, situation or site, a big blocky building with grounds and rooms, but rather can be concentrating on a spidery network of dispersed intentions, knowledges, resources and powers (Philo and Parr, 2000: 514).

This re-theorisation not only opens up hitherto hidden 'institutional spaces' to critical study (e.g., BBC's Natural History Unit, see Davies 2000; or the New Age movement, see Holloway, 2000) and prompts a re-examination of some spaces 'traditionally' the scope of the field (e.g., of religion, see Valins, 2000; or work, see Tooke, 2000), but also lends itself to readings of such spaces informed by theoretical manoeuvres stressing connection, fluidity and instability, such as actor-network theory (ANT) (Holloway, 2000; Davies, 2000) or Massey's relational conception of 'power-geometries' (Tooke, 2000). The diversity of subject matter and range of approaches brought to their study evidences Philo and Parr's desire not to 'pin down' a single standard definition of an institution. A multiplicity of 'working' definitions duly spring up through the papers in their edited section. Valins, for example, wrestles with a straightforward separation of organisations from institutions (2000: 576). Taking issue with Bouma's (1998) understanding of institutions as 'overarching characteristics of social life (such as religion)' (Valins, 2000: 576) and organisations as 'the grounded, material ways in which institutional concepts are practiced (for example the running of an individual church)' (*ibid.*; see also Jessop, 2001: 1220), regarding this separation as 'too rigid' and leaving little room for 'Foucauldian conceptions of institutions' (*ibid.*), Valins instead, following Eisenstadt (1964), reads 'institutional religion in the sense that it provides, for the ancient and contemporary Jews with whom [he is] concerned, underlying doctrinal codes which structure and frame the everyday practices and beliefs of followers' (*ibid.*: 576-577). Thus;

> In contemporary times, the religion is institutionalised through the socialisation of individuals in the ways of 'rightousnesss', where the system of educating children is of primary importance. Central to the survival of Judaism has been the continued practice of the ancient codes and regulations, propagated and policed through the institutions of religious courts, schools and colleges (*ibid.*: 577).

Del Casino Jr. *et al* also reflect upon this distinction between organisations and institutions (2000: 525-526), noting that the distinction has roots in their 'historical deployment within the disciplinary language of organisation theory' (*ibid.*: 525) and that 'in most quarters the field of organisation theory remains wedded to the organisation as an empirical object in its own right' (*ibid.*). Thus,

within this 'ontological hierarchy' (*ibid.*), 'the organisation retains its integrity as an empirical object, though one 'shot through' with institutional relations' (*ibid.*: 526). An alternative 'constructivist perspective' 'suggests that there are no *a priori* grounds for conceptualising the independence, or even the 'real' existence, of institutions or organisations. Rather, discursive practices of innovation, habituation, objectification and sedimentation construct both, assigning them, through processes of social signification, the status of objects and endowing them with causal effectivity' (*ibid.*). Valins' concern with socialisation falls under this compass. Similarly, Saugeres' study of how housing control officers reproduce dominant institutional discourses through their orderings of tenants houses and gardens, chiefly by imposing norms of cleanliness (2000: 598), rests on an understanding of an institution as a discursive construction that through its unique sets of values, norms and knowledges, fleetingly stabilises an 'institutional order';

> every institution has a body of knowledge, which defines codes of behaviour. As this body of knowledge is learned and shared by a group of people, it is internalised as being the only reality, so that any radical departure from the institutional order is seen as a departure from the natural order. In other words, *institutions produce structures* which impose a set of rules and definitions of appropriate codes of behaviour constraining people's actions and interactions (2000: 588-589; added emphasis).

Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1990) notion of *habitus*, moreover, Saugeres suggests that 'people do not only reinforce and reproduce practice, which is structured by the *habitus*, but also alter practice through negotiation, resistance, rebellion, so that structure is also constituted by practice' (2000: 589). Tooke too stresses the sedimentation of social relations; i.e., 'institutions might be particular kinds of spaces that, despite their ongoing construction, tend to regularise practices and in so doing stabilise existing social relations' (2000: 568). Bringing a keen sense of historical process to the debate, Tooke almost conceives of institutional spaces as layerings of institutional orders serving to constrain change. She writes;

> Institutional spaces can be viewed as more than the practices performed at any point in time-space, as they are the effect of social practices that have accumulated over time to produce enduring socio-spatial relations. Importantly, institutional spaces are not completely static, there is always room for transgressive practices and the re-negotiation of relations. Nevertheless, I argue that it is important to throw light on why within institutional spaces there is often stability despite flux (Tooke, 2000: 569).

Tooke's focus on the exploration of continuity and change is designed 'to throw light on the kind of practices necessary in order to challenge existing unequal power relations' (*ibid.*, 569). And here her conclusion that 'challenging hierarchical relations, at least in the workplace, needs more organised resistance than everyday transgressions' (*ibid.*: 574), and also that 'unequal power effects within institutional spaces contribute towards keeping people in their place' (*ibid.*), is both sobering and politically intoxicating. There is certainly much that this approach to the theorisation of institutions could offer to development economics. If there is one crucial lesson to learn from

tracing the trajectories of *this* sub-field, it is that an obsession with fixity and stability proves problematic not only over the search for suitable – and, crucially, *quantifiable* – proxies for 'institutions' and, separately, geography, but also because imposing this definition of an institution considerably 'pens in' the field. To play upon that sub-field's aphorism: 'institutions matter *ex definitone*' (Jessop, 2001: 1221). Philo and Parr's approach, adopted by those cited above, is altogether more liberatory; 'the aim is to arrive at a point where we end up seeing 'institutions' of all possible varieties less as prior, stable, fixed entities, and more as made, dynamic, fluid achievements' (2000: 513); i.e., that institutions not only clearly *have* geographies but, crucially, *are* geographies.

Momentarily bouncing back to the sub-discipline of economic geography, it is this focus on process and precariousness that has been most keenly picked up. Wood and Valler, for example, pinpoint 'a move from questions of institutional form and configuration to a concern with *processes* of institutionalisation and the constitution, construction, and performance of institutions' (*ibid.*; original emphasis). Amin (2001) carries this further, again through recourse to Philo and Parr (2000). Setting out the second of his 'competing institutional ontolog[ies] calling out for recognition in economic and political geography [...] that emphasises the powers of instanciation of whatever we choose to call institutions' (2001: 1240), he teases out two constitutive 'strands'. The first engages explicitly with Philo and Parr's understanding of institutions as 'fragile geographical accomplishments' (*ibid.*);

> This is not an institutionalism of scalar fixities and scalar constructions. [...] Instead, the emphasis falls on the *process of organising/instituting as it unfolds*, and on the influences and implications of such organising/instituting (*ibid.*; added emphasis).

This concern with *process* is matched by a second strand stressing institutional performativity. Quoting Callon (1998: 8), Amin suggests;

> We have become used to thinking of the economy [...] as a separate entity from institutions, by assuming [...] 'the existence of an institutional frame constituting the context in which economic activities take place'. But what if [...] 'the agent's identities, interests and objectives, in short, everything that might stabilise their disruption and their being, are variable outcomes which fluctuate with the form and dynamics of relations between these agents'? What if their behaviour and actions are put into play by institutions; in this example, the inter-personal networks that they are embedded in? (*ibid.*: 1240-1241).

This understanding speaks to Saugeres' earlier concern with the fleeting stabilisation of social relations – practice bringing *into being* institutional form – and echoes Jessop's second essential step towards 'taking an institutional turn [which] requires [alertness to how] institutions be put in their place' (2001: 1221): that is, 'to understand how institutions operate and are reproduced through routine actions that 'do' or perform institutions' (*ibid.*).

Shifting back to the social/cultural sub-discipline, it is Conradson (2003) who has perhaps made the foremost strides in connecting this concern with the process and performance of institutional spaces. Conducting research in a community drop-in centre in Christchurch, New Zealand, Conradson crafts 'an understanding [of organisational space] that emphasises organising rather than organisation' (2003: 1985) through engagement with ANT and more recent non-representational theoretical manoeuvres (NRT). Focussing on the 'stuttering' (*ibid.*: 1987) 'everyday unfolding of organisational space' (*ibid.*: 1989), he finds three key stumblings of ANT as a suitable explanatory device for the geographies of this site of voluntary social welfare provision. The first 'limitation of the network metaphor' (*ibid.*: 1981) emerges from the interweaving of faith and voluntary practice. Earlier in his paper, he observes that 'it is important to note that these practices [of, e.g., cooking, cleaning, rearranging furniture, interaction between volunteers and service users *realising* the centre] are shaped by a faith-based ethic of social care: the voluntarism here is woven through with personal and collective forms of Christian belief' (*ibid.*: 1978). Conradson hence criticises ANT for its focus on the material over the affective;

> [A]lthough ANT provides a powerful way of narrating processes of community formation, it seems less able to deliver the conceptual resources necessary to animate or evoke the spirituality that is arguably central to these communities (*ibid.*: 1982).

Secondly, Conradson worries that 'in its concern for radical symmetry, ANT arguably fails to give sufficient attention to the specific embodied capacities of human actants' (*ibid.*). Finally, 'notwithstanding its interest in association and recombination – a world of shifting alliances – ANT struggles to apprehend the plurality of ways in which such associations form and then dissipate' (*ibid.*). In an attempt to ensure bodies *are* fully living, Conradson looks towards NRT as a means of foregrounding embodied practices. In centring fully living *people*, he sketches a living space, rich with 'auras' and 'hauntings' (*ibid.*: 1985), 'flashes' (*ibid.*: 1976) and 'atmosphere' (*ibid.*: 1979), where 'moment[s] stretch[...] out, resonating beyond [their] immediate context' (*ibid.*: 1988);

> A particular temporality is also evident in the focussing and subsequent dissipation of felt intensity in these meetings [e.g., community lunch, or, practicing (performing?) Christian communion]. A few hours after each gathering, for instance, the hall seemed a very different place. Yet, [...] elements of its affective aura, bodily sensed and yet somehow woven into the physical space, seemed to persist (*ibid.*: 1980).

In places, the thesis that follows draws near Conradson's rich conceptualisation of living organisational space. It does not, however, engage explicitly with either ANT or NRT; instead, its theoretical foundation rests upon Foucauldian manoeuvres (see CHAPTER ONE). In doing so, it connects with foregoing discussion of institutional geographies and, particularly, their concern with practice. Considering The BB as a discursive construction realised *in place* through practice – i.e.,

embodied knowledges, routines, rhythms – that are sedimented over time (particularly through textual 'outputs' such as manuals crystallising institutional orders and orderings) – its prime focus is on the processes through which it is institutional*ising*. To follow Conradson, its organisational spaces – i.e., those of The BB Company – are always organising. Their accomplishment is only achieved through the weekly precarious stabilisation of power-relations that are continually being (re)negotiated. There is *necessary* room for resistance, rebellion, and transgression of the rules, norms, and values by *all* actors: authority itself being relational. Thus, as an institution The BB is always accomplishing, always instituting.

By viewing 'The Boys Brigade' as an institution, its Companies as organisations, there is a danger here of distinguishing between 'organisation' and 'institution' at the same time as attempting to collapse the division (see also Valins, 2000: 576). And while this separation is often expedient in terms of explanation, it is vital to stress that both are mutually constitutive: The BB is not reducible to either the 'organisational spaces' of the Company or the more overtly 'institutional spaces' of its committees or councils in which practice is discussed, debated and structured. That said, it is the geographies of the former that are the main focus here; and the study maps into Philo and Parr's re-theorising of 'institutional geographies' and their specific agenda for future action;

> If there is a *principal* claim to drop from this introduction [...] it is to show the mileage in supplementing studies of how institutions influence worldly geographies with further studies concerning the geographies both *of* and *in* institutions *themselves*. In other words, from seeing institutions as components in the explanation of 'external' geographical patterns, there may be profit in turning expressly to the multiple geographies – to the manipulations of space and place – 'internal' to, and arguably even constitutive of, given institutions (however, these might be precisely defined and delimited). To put things even more baldly, the lens can shift to geographies as 'explanations' of institutions, of how they come into being, survive and operate, to complement a continuing focus on institutions as explanations of wider geographies beyond the institution (Philo and Parr, 2000: 517; original emphasis).

Thus, this work is concerned with both the 'internal' geographies of The BB Company bringing into being a disciplinary space through which it is fleetingly accomplished, and, in its focus on volunteer motivations, is attentive to the (moral) geographies which (at least partly) 'explain' the *provision* of this space.

GEOGRAPHIES OF VOLUNTEERING

It was Alexis de Tocqueville who noted that the act of volunteering provided a sound training in citizenship (Milligan and Fyfe, 2005: 417), and it is for this reason that successive UK Governments over the past two decades have encouraged initiatives to increase involvement in voluntary organisations. Margaret Thatcher's address to the General Assembly of The Church of Scotland in May 1988 laid 'the groundwork' for the later embedding of 'active citizenship' at the heart of Government policy' (Kearns, 1992: 21). John Major's much maligned 'Citizen's Charter'

carried forward, albeit with a 'twist' (*ibid.*, 22), the Conservatives' 'concern' for the 'citizen-consumer' (Fyfe and Milligan, 2003: 402). Recast as 'conditional citizenship' (*ibid.*) following New Labour's landslide 1997 electoral victory, enacted through the publication of 'Compacts' in 1998 'between the Government and groups representing the interests of the third sector' (Bryson *et al*, 2002: 48; see also Fyfe and Milligan, 2003: 402), Treasury-led changes to charitable giving (e.g., through Gift Aid) (Bryson *et al*, 2002: 48) and diverse schemes promoting volunteering, (especially among young people, e.g., Millenium Volunteers, see Wardell et al, 2000; or ProjectScotland), the voluntary sector as a school of citizenship has plainly arrived in the UK. But this commitment to the voluntary sector is situated within a climate of civic disengagement. Putnam's *Bowling Alone* catalogues the decline of US citizens' participation and membership of organisations as diverse as the church, PTAs, professional bodies and boy scouts, and from this he argues (not unproblematically, see Mohan and Mohan, 2002: 194-195) that this evidences a commensurate decline in 'social capital'. Instruments of social policy actively promoting volunteering are, then, designed to turn this tide of communal disassociation.

Yet, they also serve more pragmatic ends, helping to meet the growing challenge of welfare provision, particularly as post-war corporatist models of welfare face overstretch in neo-liberal(ising) democracies. In the USA this has heralded the shift from the welfare to the workfare state, and in the UK the navigation of a 'third way' similarly relies upon a strengthening of the voluntary sector and emergence of a 'shadow state' (Wolch, 1990) essential to the continued delivery of welfare services (Fyfe and Milligan, 2003: 398). In light of this social policy trajectory, the 'third sector' (Kramer, 2000) has received renewed academic attention in line with its reinvigoration by Government. The form and function of the 'shadow state', and its relationship with formal state welfare services, are frequently the foci of enquiry (see Fyfe and Milligan, 2003 for a comprehensive overview). Studies of the internal workings of voluntary sector organisations (*ibid.*) and volunteer motivations also feature (see below). Milligan and Fyfe have suggested, however, that much of this analysis remains aspatial (see Fyfe and Milligan, 2003; Milligan and Fyfe, 2004). Thus, in a recent appraisal, they argue that the *geographies* of voluntarism must be taken seriously and that geographers can make vital contributions on at least three levels: the empirical, methodological and theoretical (Fyfe and Milligan, 2003: 409-410). Empirically, they note that; 'geographers need to continue to demonstrate the crucial difference space and place make to voluntarism, but to do so by engaging with a wider range of geographical scales than have been addressed to date' (*ibid.*: 409). Here they see scope for redressing the imbalance of studies in urban rather than rural contexts, and mitigation of the myopic tendency for 'much of the welfare reform agenda appear[ing] to assume that what works in one place will work in others' (*ibid.*). Methodologically, they argue that much can be done to utilise the human geographer's toolkit of methods to advance new understandings of the sector, not least through use of ethnographic approaches or, 'given the continuing scarcity of empirical data about both voluntary organisations and volunteering', embarking upon 'mapping exercises to provide basic information on the social,

economic and political dimensions of voluntarism' (*ibid*.: 410). Theoretically, they argue that geographers could do much to expand the scope of their enquiries beyond Wolch's 'shadow state' thesis (*ibid*.). A second intervention suggests that geographical scholarship on voluntarism converge around three poles: space, place, and political context (Milligan and Fyfe, 2004: 75). The dominance of the shadow state thesis provides the focus of the third pole here; concerns with space centre largely around spatial distributions of voluntary activity and the uneven patterns of access and provision of welfare services; whereas the particularities of place are recognised as a key factor shaping the form of the local voluntary sector (*ibid*.). Of these lines of enquiry, Milligan and Fyfe subsequently note;

> Taken together these studies of the links between voluntarism, space, place and political context clearly demonstrate the unique insights offered by geographical perspectives on the role and development of voluntary organisations. Yet this research still only offers a partial and fragmented picture of the voluntary sector. In particular, most of these studies focus on space, place or political context rather than the inter-relationships between these different elements [...]; and most studies (with the exception of Wolch, 1990) focus on voluntary organisations linked to just one area of social policy. What is missing is an understanding of the interplay between space, place and political context for making sense of the development and distribution of a range of voluntary activity in a particular area (2004: 77).

It is not immediately apparent that the present thesis can embrace this research agenda, and certainly it is true that this thesis does indeed focus on only one branch of social policy in its concern solely with the voluntary *youth work* sector. It does, however, offer a geographical perspective on volunteering by thinking through questions of motivation *geographically*.

Recent research on volunteer motivations has uncovered the complexity of the volunteer experience and impulse. For example, Wardell *et al*'s research, utilising semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire and Neo-Five Factor personality Inventory (Neo-FFI) followed-up after ten months, found that 'the stereotypical profile of a volunteer [as a] middle-aged, highly educated woman with a secure income, who attend[s] church regularly and [is] altruistically motivated' (2000: 229) was 'outdated' (*ibid*.: 246);

> This research has shown that the image of the 'do-gooder' volunteer is outdated. New volunteer profiles are emerging which highlight the duality of voluntary work. Some young men and women consider their voluntary work as a stepping stone to employment. Some older people use their volunteering as a 'tool' to adjust to their retirement. Others who feel themselves socially isolated for a number of reasons feel that volunteering is a useful way to gain new and local social contact (*ibid*.: 246-247).

The duality highlighted in Wardell *et al*'s research recognises that volunteering reaps its own 'rewards', which 'included intrinsic satisfaction, the knowledge of providing benefit to a service user (altruism), and the informal contacts gained through volunteering, which felt like belonging to

a family' (2000: 245). This general shift away from an understating of voluntarism solely through the lens of altruism is most clearly evidenced through Clary and Snyder's (1999) functional approach. Establishing a Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) of the six functions served by volunteering (i.e., Values, Understanding, Enhancement, Career, Social, and Protective; see Table 1), they find that 'respondents report that Values, Understanding, and Enhancement are the most important functions and that Career, Social, and Protective are less important functions' (Clary and Snyder, 1999: 157), although 'roughly two thirds of respondents indicate having two or more important motivations' (*ibid.*). This research further complicates the simple 'altruism-egoism' continuum, contending 'that many volunteers' motivations cannot be neatly classified as either altruistic or egotistic' (1999: 157).

Table 1 Clary and Snyder's Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI)		
Function	*Conceptual definition*	*Sample VFI item*
Values	The individual volunteers in order to express or act upon important values like humanitarianism.	I feel it is important to help others.
Understanding	The volunteer is seeking to learn more about the world or exercise skills that are often unused.	Volunteering lets me learn through direct, hands-on experience.
Enhancement	One can grow and develop psychologically through volunteer activities.	Volunteering makes me feel better about myself.
Career	The volunteer has the goal of gaining career-related experience through volunteering.	Volunteering can help me to get my foot in the door at a place where I would like to work.
Social	Volunteering allows an individual to strengthen his or her social relationships.	People I know share an interest in community service.
Protective	The individual uses volunteering to reduce negative feelings, such as guilt, or to address personal problems.	Volunteering is a good escape from my own troubles.

Source: Clary and Snyder, 1999: 157.

Yeung (2004) too has done much to complicate this continuum though her recent development of an octagon model of volunteer motivation. With a particular interest in the interplay between religiosity and voluntarism, through a phenomenological approach she develops an understanding of volunteer motivation around four dimensions: getting-giving, continuity-newness, distance-proximity, and thought-action (see Figure 1). Those poles pointing right on the diagram below are 'being directed *outwards* towards social circles, activities, new contents, and giving to others' (Yeung, 2004: 33; added emphasis), and those pointing left 'are orientated more personally *inwards* towards internal pondering, distance from others, continuity of content, and obtaining benefits' (*ibid.*; added emphasis). From this account, she proposes that personal motivation maps might be drawn to gain a fuller understanding of which of the model's eight poles feature in any one individual's motivations (*ibid.*: 40), thus highlighting whether their motivation rests with the inward or outward 'meta-dimension of a person' (*ibid.*: 33) and, by extension, positioning them on an altruism-egoism spectrum.

Moving from Yeung's abstract mappings of motivations, Reitsma-Street *et al*'s study contains an implicit concern for the concrete geographies shaping motivations. Partly emerging

from a concern that in the 'era of devolution' (2000: 652) the aforementioned service gap is most keenly felt among 'at risk' communities (*ibid.*: 653), their research explores the motivations of volunteers in five community resource centres for young people in poorer neighbourhoods of Ontario, Canada. Focus groups conducted with volunteers in three of these centres teased out three key aspects of the volunteer experience: experiencing personal and collective power, engaging in relationships, and accomplishing tasks (*ibid.*: 658-663). Within the latter, the 'key collective accomplishment' is summed up by a female focus group participant who said;

> You can see the kids when they come in from school. They are happy to be here. I see less kids in the street than I used to in my younger day because they didn't have a place like that. It is good. It has helped the community to survive. It has helped against breaking and entering. Kids are off the street. They have a place to go. Without no volunteers there would be no place. If we can't help, they can't survive (*ibid.*: 661).

Reitsma-Street *et al* do not elaborate on the connection between geography and voluntary action that the above quotation evidences; they do not consider further how the real-world imagined geographies of 'the street' configured as 'immoral' fold into the *process* of bringing these centres into existence. And here engagement with work in the sub-field of children's geographies surrounding the *vitality* of the street in young people's social geographies would check a celebration of such a scheme. This critical reading notwithstanding, crucially, while a key collective accomplishment, resource centres are not considered a *geographical* accomplishment. Studies of volunteer motivations, such as those discussed above, fall within the range of work that Milligan and Fyfe find to lack spatial sensibility (2004: 74). Indeed, to return full-circle to Wardell *et al*'s paper, after drawing their conclusions regarding changing volunteer profiles they argue that '[w]hile there may be cultural differences, many of the findings in the north of Scotland are applicable throughout Europe' (2000: 247). The task of this thesis is explicitly to *spatialise* motivation, by examining how the particularities of place shape the volunteering impulse. Specifically, its focus is if and how, like the community resource centres discussed by Reitsma-Street *et al*'s interviewee, the realisation of a BB Company is predicated upon the delineation of (im)moral geographies which then become (at least in part) a motivation behind its provision. Importantly, this approach acts as a brake on any unbridled celebration of faith-inspired action, taking seriously and recognising the agency of place as something that both enables and constrains action. And, as alluded to above, it expands further the understanding of The BB itself as a distinctly geographical accomplishment; not only are its internal spacings (re)configured to bring it into being but its accomplishment is secured in relation to other, in this case moral, geographies.

Figure 1 Yeung's octagon model of motivation showing personal motivation map (in red)

Getting   Action

Continuity   Proximity

Distance   Newness

Thought   Giving
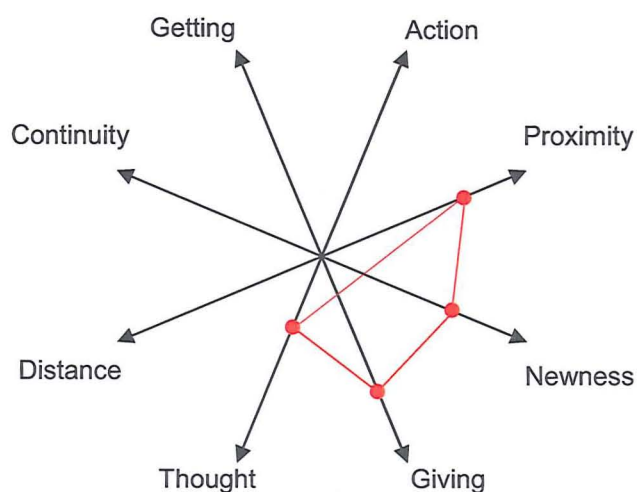
Source: Yeung, 2004: 32; 40.

RESEARCH PROBLEMATICS

Alongside key research outcomes – most notably, personal professional development and the stimulation of debate, both within The BB and without, *about* The BB – this thesis addresses four key research problematics:

1. Explore The BB as a site in children's and young people's social geographies and their personal (or parental) motivations behind making it so;

2. Understand the ways in which the spaces of The BB Company are used (and resisted) by young people in their (re)creation and continual performance of their identities;

3. Unpack the processes involved in the (re)creation, dissemination and inscription of moral 'codes' into the various spaces of The BB;

4. Comprehend the motivation behind the provision of the spaces of The BB by its adult leadership.

Resonating with the mini-literature reviews just presented, these problematics both spring out of recent research and connect into future avenues of enquiry in each sub-field. The first two questions speak to the documented shifts within the 'new social studies of childhood' to consider young people as social actors able to choose, appropriate and perfomatively construct their own leisure spaces for their own ends, while also recognising that the liminal period of 'youth' is characterised by constraints; e.g., of legal and spatial exclusions, and particularly parental motivations. Conceptualisation of these sites as the everyday spaces of socialisation within children's geographies facilitates a folding of this sub-field into those of moral and religious geographies, elevating consideration of the (religious, moral) ethos. Moreover, how *institutional* codes are sedimented through local practice, writ large, and subsequently dictated to and resisted

by local practitioners also figures prominently when attempting to answer the third key question. Just as the Company is a site in which young people are socialised, adults too are socialised into a particular set of institutional values and beliefs, cross-cut and underpinned by distinct religious and moral geographies. Finally, the fourth question engages with moves to spatialise motivation, considering provision as the outcome of moral judgements made geographically. It should be clear, however, that given the entangled nature of the problematics, their 'answers' involve an interweaving of these sub-fields. Thus, the thesis has a final aim: to enmesh these research sub-fields and conclude by teasing out an approach to the theorisation of the spaces of voluntary youth work that entwines the geographies of provision and participation as part of the personal, political and philosophical project set out above.

ROUTE MAP

The thesis contains four major sections: FOUNDATIONS, MOTIVATIONS, ACTIONS and DISRUPTIONS. Each section contains two chapters designed to work as a 'couplet', addressing the same key research problematic, yet approaching it from a different angle. Thus, these chapters are designed to 'rhyme' in that one is only complete with the other. Also, it is worth noting that (with the exception of the FOUNDATIONS section) the second chapter of each couplet is the more overtly spatial of the two. There is, however, more than one path through this thesis. Three 'vignettes' are interspersed between the core sections of the thesis. These vignettes provide a tangential study of The BB in 'outdoor spaces', given that the focus in the main body of the thesis is The BB as it takes place within a church hall on a weekday evening. This triptych is complete in itself: it could conceivably be read sequentially in isolation from the remainder of the thesis. However, the position of these vignettes in the thesis is designed to ensure that they resonate with the contents of the chapter that precedes them, and that these vignettes flow back into the core argument constructed through the main chapters. By drawing upon these two literary devices – of the couplet and vignette – the aim is not to do all the reader's work for them, but for conclusions to spring from the collision between my voice and the reader's experience with and without the text. It is an attempt, within the boundaries of thesis production, to ensure the thesis remains not a final word – a closing down of a period of research – but an opening up of ideas and possibilities: an exchange. Thus, I leave to the reader to choose the route followed when they stumble across these vignettes. To help guide the reader's journey, however, a WAYPOINT has been added at the end of each chapter and vignette to point the direction that *could* then be taken.

With this wayfaring now complete, I bring this introduction to a close by briefly outlining the contents of each chapter and vignette in the order of the (written) route through the thesis:

>> FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER ONE establishes the theoretical foundations for the thesis. Here a Foucauldian conception of disciplinary space is developed through a close re-reading of Foucault's discussion of the French agricultural colony of Mettray and others' — notably Driver's and Ploszajka's — insightful analyses of its imitators. Critical re-appraisal of Jean Genet's pseudo-auto-biographical account of the colony opens up an understanding of disciplinary space in which both domination and resistance are intricately interwoven, and foregrounds a conceptualisation in which the latter is not only present, but necessary, for spaces such as those of The BB to be brought into being.

CHAPTER TWO sets out the methodological foundations of the thesis. In the order methods were adopted during the process of research, it discusses: the design and implementation of a questionnaire survey distributed to BB Captains; semi-structured interviews conducted with active Officers in Companies throughout Scotland; and a period of ethnographic research conducted in one BB Company over the course of a session, incorporating experimentation with participatory methods utilised with boys.

VIGNETTE ONE is the first of the three studies of The BB in 'outdoor spaces'. It provides a foundation for the theorisation of these spaces through the presentation of an historical geography of The BB during The Great War and the interplay between two dramas during that conflict: the raising of men to form a BB Battalion, and the raising of funds to build Recreation Huts in both Rouen, France and, later, Edinburgh, Scotland. Through these two episodes it is argued that The BB must be considered as both a bounded and thoroughly embodied institution.

>> MOTIVATIONS

CHAPTER THREE uses responses from the questionnaire distributed to BB Captains to sketch two caricatures: first, of the respondents, and then their Companies. Supplementing questionnaire findings with interview material, it turns to consider the motivations underpinning Officers' voluntary service. Cataloguing, and then critically appraising, respondents' reflections on the deceptively simple question 'why?' facilitates a mapping of volunteer motivations along the altruism-egoism spectrum.

CHAPTER FOUR draws further insight on the motivations behind adults' provision of BB Companies through careful reading of how questionnaire respondents' characterise their own local community. Asked to reflect upon the challenges for young people in their community, the contribution made by their Company, and needs perceived to exist for local young people,

Officers' answers allow hidden motivations – bound up with their delineation of a distinct moral geography of these communities – to be ascertained.

VIGNETTE TWO turns its attention to the BB 'on parade'. Following a brief historical detour to consider the historical connection between military drill and The BB, embodied in the biography of the movement's founder and brief reflection on contemporary reinforcement of this connection through the movement's guiding texts, the second of the studies considering the wider geographies of The BB turns to consider parades as communicative spatial practices.

>> ACTIONS

CHAPTER FIVE dissects the Object of The BB by weaving together Officers' own dissections conducted when completing the questionnaire survey and later in interviews. Using a debate on The BB's online discussion forum as a springboard, it pulls apart a phrase widely considered as the movement's core statement of purpose to understand how it serves as a guide to practice.

CHAPTER SIX starts to unpack practice 'in place' by considering how the Object is realised spatially. It considers how the adoption of specific spatial configurations of bodies and objects during short periods of formality which bookend each BB meeting facilitate technologies of self-discipline and crystallise (disciplinary) relationships. The chapter argues that, just as the Object is perceived to work *in toto*, the disciplinary space created which ensures its accomplishment is also considered to function as a whole.

VIGNETTE THREE completes the series of studies of The BB 'outwith the hall' by shifting attention to the wilder outdoor spaces of camp. It is suggested that the accomplishment of The BB 'at camp' is secured, at least partly, through the replication of the disciplinary gestalt in operation *within* the hall on a weekday evening. Disciplines integral to this space are both adopted and adapted to create a unique disciplinary and, crucially, developmental space.

>> DISRUPTIONS

CHAPTER SEVEN begins to unsettle the 'neat' understanding of an efficacious disciplinary space by considering in detail the processes and practices bringing it into being. Field diary entries are woven together to create a composite narrative of a 'typical' evening. It is argued that, far from disrupting the successful accomplishment of a BB Company, routine resistance is necessary to the creation of a negotiated disciplinary space.

CHAPTER EIGHT picks up on two impromptu interventions in the research process that occurred when the researcher introduced participatory video into the period of ethnographic research, using these to launch a sustained critique of the structured nature of The BB. It is argued that structure mitigates against the creation of truly safe spaces of spiritual exploration in which both young people *and* adults – journeying together – can question their Christian faith.

>> CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical contribution of this thesis is set out following a re-framing of its findings and structure to pinpoint a gap between idealised practice and realised process that prises open along the fault line between CHAPTER FIVE and CHAPTER SIX. Guided by a reading of Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis centred on the repetitive workings of dressage the spaces of structured youth work are theorised as brought into being through a negotiated rhythm composed by boys and adults through which both adults and boys 'do' *voluntary* youth work.

'SUBDUED ALMOST WITHOUT A CONFLICT': FOUCAULT, METTRAY AND RESISTANCE

> Foucault's critics have paid little attention to his discussion of the colony [at Mettray]; as if mesmerised by his coruscating account of the Panopticon, they seem almost not to have noticed it (Driver, 1993: 19).

And not just his critics. Foucault's 'genealogy' of the prison, *Discipline and Punish*, is, as Driver notes, often reduced to Foucault's account of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, such that his arguments have almost become imprisoned by the model of penal architecture he popularised. This is understandable. The model of the panopticon once extended to society conjures images from the dystopic to the everyday; it is a short (mental) step from the network of 'telescreens' which ensnare Winston Smith, the hero of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four*, to the increased use of urban CCTV cameras in late-modernity. Yet, both in line with Foucault's account, throw a net of normalising gazes over society ensuring the production of self-disciplined and docile (increasingly, consumer) bodies. It is not, however, excusable. While some have argued that Mettray is the more important institution simply because it was built, this is, however, not as central as the contribution the colony makes to Foucault's own arguments surrounding the shift in the workings of power. With reference to Foucault's tripartite schema of the regimes of punishment which structures *Discipline and Punish* (see Table 2), Driver writes that where the Panopticon 'combined what Foucault terms the 'semio-techniques' of the contractual regime [...] with the disciplinary techniques of the carceral regime' (Driver, 1993: 13; see Table 2) it was at Mettray that the carceral system was complete. As Foucault notes;

> Were I to fix the date of the *completion of the carceral system*, I would choose not 1810 and the penal code, nor even 1844, when the law laying down the principle of cellular internment was passed; I might not even choose 1838, when books on prison reform by Charles Lucas, Moreau-Christophe and Faucher were published. The date I would choose would be 22 January 1840, the date of the official opening of Mettray...Why Mettray? Because it is the disciplinary form at its most extreme, the model in which are concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour (1977: 293; added emphasis).

Ultimately concerned with the nature of resistance in spaces of domination (see Sharp *et al*, 2000: 28) this chapter will begin, drawing heavily upon Felix Driver's own studies of the Mettray agricultural colony (see 1988a, 1990, 1993), by sketching Mettray as a disciplinary space teasing, out the two intertwined principles laid down by its founder Frederic Demetz which later spread to reformatories, farm schools and other institutions in Victorian England and further afield. Moving from this necessarily caricatured study of Demetz's Mettray, the attention moves to that of one of the colony's most (in)famous 'inmates' to illustrate that the imagining of Mettray by English social reformers and philanthropists is only one side of the institution. It is argued that Mettray, and institutions in England adopting its principles – most notably Red Lodge and Redhill farm school (Ploszajska, 1994) – are home to myriad embodied resistance practices (Duncan, 2002: 319). After a brief pause to reflect upon the (theoretical) space Foucault opens for resistance in his analysis, I explore these specific strategies of resistance 'head-on' using the work of Scott as a guide. I close by extending this analysis to the (temporary) space of domination that is The BB Company during the course of a meeting night, speculating that such resistance practices not only undercut but also sustain a space of domination through the constant negotiation of power and consent between the boys and adult leadership.

Table 2 Foucault's Three Regimes of Punishment

Regime	*Mechanism of Power*	*'Technology' of Power*
Monarchical	'public execution…ritually reaffirmed the power of the sovereign'	terror-ific spectacle (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 13)
Contractual	'reforming jurists…put their faith in the law itself as a 'technology of representation''	'semio-techniques'
Carceral	'disciplinary training as a means of producing docile, obedient individuals'	'disciplinary technology'

Source: Driver, 1993: 8-9

DEMETZ'S METTRAY

Founded in 1839 by Parisian magistrate Frederic Demetz (Driver, 1988a: 4) and officially opened, as Foucault notes above, on 22nd January the following year (1977: 293), the agricultural colony of Mettray was, from its inception, 'a model of models' (Driver, 1990: 276). Prior to Mettray's establishment Demetz embarked upon a tour of the agricultural colonies of Europe stopping to 'pay homage' to reformatory institutions in Holland, Belgium and Germany, including the famous *Rauhe-haus* near Hamburg (Driver, 1988: 4) from where it is believed that the 'system of family division' later deployed by Demetz at Mettray originated (Driver, 1988a: 24; Ploszajska, 1994: 416). In time, Mettray itself was to become a 'Mecca' (Driver, 1990: 273) on such pilgrimages, famed throughout Europe for the two underpinning 'principles' that Demetz 'discovered' on his own tour; namely, the importance of land and associated agricultural labour, and the 'family system' of social organisation. I turn first to the latter.

THE 'FAMILY SYSTEM' AS CONTROL

Following practice at the aforementioned *Rauhe-haus*, Mettray colonists were divided into families each of which inhabited a separate house geometrically arranged around the colony's rectangular central square (Driver, 1990: 276; see Plate 1). 'Families' contained forty boys, each under 16, who had, in accordance with article 66 of the French penal code, been acquitted by the courts even though guilty of a crime (*ibid.*). Two senior boys (*frères aînés*) and a supervisor (*chef de famille*) were in charge of each house (*ibid.*). The precise organisation of the family system is, however, not as important as what Demetz believed the family system could *do*. As Driver (1990: 277) notes;

> The family, according to Frederic Demetz, was 'the great moralising agent of the human race'. The division of the colonists into small 'family' groups, he argued, would not only make the task of surveillance 'easier, more active and more zealous'; it would also foster a sense of 'mutual affection', a bond of 'incalculable power' between the colonists, the *frères aînés* and the *chefs des familles*.

Plate 1 Mettray

Source: République Française, Ministère de la Justice, 2003

Notwithstanding the 'slippage' between Demetz's understanding of the efficacy of the 'family system' at Mettray and the colonists' lived reality of it (to which I return later), it was, as Driver notes, Demetz's ideal which was *represented* to the many English social reformers (e.g., Matthew Davenport Hill, Sydney Turner, Thomas Paynter, Mary Carpenter) to whom Mettray became an important stop-off on *their* tours of European reformatories (Driver, 1990). Importantly, it was a

representation which neatly dovetailed with the popular contemporary belief that juvenile delinquency was a 'direct product of disorderly, urban, working-class households in which family discipline and affection had broken down' (Carpenter, 1857: 39 quoted in Ploszajska, 1994: 416), a belief itself grounded upon a 'naturalistic' reading of the Victorian city (*ibid.*: 415).

Table 3 Principles of Reformatory Science

Principle	*Theme*	*Strategy*
Specialisation	Distinguish juvenile delinquency from adult crime	Provide separate reformatory institutions
Individualisation	Focus on delinquent character rather than on criminal act	Reformation rather than retribution
Family principle	Associate delinquency with absence of family disciplines and affections	Provide simulated 'family' settings
Environmentalism	Associate delinquency with disordered urban environments	Place child in ordered rural environments
Work discipline	Associate delinquency with idleness or unregulated work	Train in regular industrial habits (especially on the land)

Source: Driver, 1990: 280

THE UNNATURAL CITY AND 'MORAL DISEASE'

Enshrined in the ameliorative 'principles' of reformatory science (see Table 3; Driver, 1990: 280) which emerged in the mid-1800s, and underpinning Carpenter's belief above, was an imagining of the Victorian city founded upon environmental determinism. As a result of this discourse, the city, although 'perceived as standing, somehow, apart from nature [...] w[as] nonetheless described in naturalistic terms' (Ploszajska, 1994: 415). The use of statistical data on the condition of the city not only fed and legitimised the underpinning discourse itself (*ibid.*: 416) but also, in correlating disease with the moral geography of the city (see Driver, 1988b), resulted in a rhetoric of 'moral contagion'. Crime, then – as a diagnostic of moral health – was thought to spread, atmospherically, to the more densely populated areas of the city where miasmas were most concentrated (Ploszajska, 1994: 416). Thus, and as Driver notes, 'children become delinquent because they have 'never been in an atmosphere which could have fostered their moral sense or even given it a possibility of germinating" (Anon., 1855: 385 quoted in 1990: 281). The fear that crime itself 'was contagious and might infect not only the immediate locality but the whole social fabric' (May, 1973: 18 quoted in Ploszajska, 1994: 416), and might ultimately 'deteriorate the physical and moral condition of the nation' (Kay, 1851 quoted in Ploszajska, 1994: 416), led to exploration by social reformers of working-class areas of Victorian cities. During such explorations they 'found', echoing Carpenter's own claims above, the urban household with 'its disorderly room, a dirty table, a badly-cooked meal, ragged and undisciplined children, a wife exhausted by the fatigues of a day at the factory, and at all times ignorant of the simplest household duties' (Davesiès de Pontès, 1866: 21-2 quoted in Driver, 1990: 281). Upon this they pinned the source of the moral disease which threatened to engulf both city and nation. Thus in order to prevent the spread of the disease, so the rhetoric ran, children should be removed from the disordered unnatural urban (domestic)

environments and placed in natural ordered rural settings (see Table 3; also below) where an ideal of the 'family' – as a natural form of social organisation – could be restored and thus the child reformed (Ploszajska, 1994: 416). Indeed, such was the association between morality and disease that in a report to the Law Amendment Society in 1847, Matthew Davenport Hill described the (rural) institutions within which reformation would occur as 'Moral Hospitals' (Driver, 1990: 279).

MARY CARPENTER AND RED LODGE

Alongside Hill, the most forthright proponent of this belief was Mary Carpenter, daughter of a Unitarian minister (Smith, 2002: 1) who Ploszajska describes as an 'evangelical philanthropist' (1994: 420), most famous for the establishment of Red Lodge reformatory for girls in Bristol[16]. Whilst Carpenter's writings[17] also clearly evidence the wider claims of Ploszajska's paper concerning the distinct – and dominant – gender and class based ideologies underpinning the location of reformatory schools (i.e., boys reformatories were located in rural areas preparing them for future agricultural labour in Britain or its colonies [see below] whereas girls schools were sited in urban areas preparing them for domestic service, the home considered by Carpenter to be 'the natural sphere for women' [1864: 17 quoted in Ploszajska, 1994: 425]), Ploszajska also teases out from her writing the perceived value of the family to reformation of delinquent behaviours which is an integral component of her own methods (see Table 4). Ploszajska notes;

> In her influential account of reformatory schools published in 1851 [*Reformatory Schools for Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile offenders* (Smith, 2002: 2)] she asserted 'love draws the cords far stronger than chains of iron'. Only in a model family environment with homely discipline and affection could reformation succeed, gradually restoring precocious delinquents 'to the true position of childhood'. Within the reformatory, therefore, 'all arrangements shall have in view to inspire *family feeling* in the school [...] The children must be able to look back on the school as 'our happy home'" (1994: 425; original emphasis).

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[16] Prior to opening Red Lodge in 1854, Mary Carpenter had already a proven 'track record' in the establishment of educational and reformatory institutions. In 1829 she opened a school for girls with her mother in Bristol, 1846 saw her open a ragged school in a Bristol slum, and in 1852 she opened a reformatory for boys at Kingswood (Smith, 2002: 2).

[17] In 1851 Mary Carpenter published an influential essay *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and the Juvenile Offenders*. Two years later *Juvenille Delinquents, their Condition and Treatment* was published, both works influential in the writing of the Youthful Offenders Act 1854 and later her lobbying led to the passing of the Industrial Schools Act 1857, 1861 and 1866 (Smith, 2002: 2).

Table 4 Carpenter's Methods and Principles

1. Treatment should be founded on love of the child
2. Change required the co-operation of the child
3. Work was to be a means to an end, not an end in itself
4. Recreation was as important as work
5. Corporal punishment was reduced to a minimum
6. The approach should be educational and should be founded on Christianity

Source: Young and Ashton, 1956: 169-172 quoted in Smith, 2002: 2-3

REDHILL FARM SCHOOL

The other example upon which Ploszajska draws in advancing her thesis is the Philanthopic Society's farm school for boys at Redhill, Surrey which also adopted – and adapted – the 'family principle' from Mettray[18]. Here, as at Mettray, boys were arranged into families and occupied houses which, in contrast to the ordered geography of Mettray, were sited 'apparently randomly across the rural landscape' (Ploszajska, 1994: 422). Crucially, each house had at its head a master whose role was to;

> in every way striv[e] to make his house a well-ordered, cheerful and comfortable home for the boys under care, towards whom, as far as possible, he should assume the position of father (quoted in Ploszajska, 1994: 423).

Yet, at its heart, the family system was a system of control and surveillance; it was not only a transferable principle but also a transferable *discipline*. Through competition, either between families differentiated by colour or emblems, or between masters and boys, at Mettray and Redhill respectively, 'the harmful *esprit de corps* common amongst inmates in large institutions' (Ploszajska, 1994: 422) was broken down. Moreover, *tableu d'honneur* – listings of individual good conduct – internalised discipline much like the silent monitor of Robert Owen's New Lanark[19], its efficacy successfully demonstrated through 'boys volunteering evidence against trouble-makers in their family' (Ploszajska, 1994: 424). This partitioning of bodies, as a disciplinary technique, was also extended to time. Mettray, as Jean Genet (see below) notes, ran to

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[18] The Philanthropic Society of London was founded in 1788 (Moore, 2000). Four years later it transferred to a secure site in Southwark (Ploszajska, 1994: 417). Following an 1846 report of a visit to Mettray commending the institution by the society's chaplain, Sydney Turner, and a committee member, Thomas Paynter, and after a slight delay due to local opposition (Ploszajska, 1994: 418) the society moved in 1849 to Redhill in Surrey (Moore, 2000). Interestingly, the farm school was located close to, and visible from, two busy railways ensuring 'the site and sight of the reformatory was [...] an imposing and forbidding reminder of the consequences of social non-conformity' (Ploszajska, 1994: 418; cf. discussion of the (imagined) visibility of Fontevrault at Mettray below).

[19] Owen's 'silent monitors' were small four-sided blocks of wood, each face having a different colour, which was hung beside the worker and turned each day by their superintendent; the colour indicating their conduct. Of the silent monitor, Robert Owen himself notes; 'One of these was suspended in a conspicuous place near to each of the persons employed, and the colour on the front told the conduct of the individual during the preceding day to four degrees of comparison. Bad, denoted by black and No.4 – indifferent denoted by blue and No.3 – good by yellow and No.2 – and excellent by white and No.1. then books of conduct were provided for each department [...] to mark by the number the daily conduct' (quoted in New Lanark Conservation Trust, no date: 19). Clearly, as in the main text, Owen's latter remarks evidence a distinct power/knowledge relationship in the control of individuals, yet, the silent monitors, much like the *tableu d'honneur* at Mettray, internalised (in this case work) discipline in much the same manner as the panopticon. Indeed, it is interesting to note that Bentham himself was, from 1813 a partner at New Lanark (*ibid*.: 12).

a strict timetable[20], much like that Léon Faucher established in his rules for the house of young prisoners in Paris (1837: 274-282 quoted in Foucault, 1977: 6-7). Space too was utilised in the control and surveillance of individuals at both Mettray and Redhill. In the former, as Driver notes, dormitories were arranged such that from a small alcove the *chef de famille* could observe the colonists without being seen (1990: 276; see Plate 2), whereas 'the aggregation of each 'family' into large, carefully planned, day rooms and dormitories with no concealed corners or hiding places' (Ploszajska, 1994: 423) in the latter ensured that 'beams of disciplining light' shone without casting any shadows (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 15). Leaving aside the opportunities for resistance using 'shadows' in space and 'cracks' in time for the moment, it is important to note that both practices rested upon a belief – itself founded upon the environmental determinist view informing the perceived source of delinquency – that the manipulation of space could influence behaviour (see Ploszajska, 1994: 413) leading to moral reform and discipline. Driver has noted that 'Bentham himself had no doubt about the moral powers of architecture' (1993: 12), an idea he notes has been extended by contemporary historians' use of a lexicon including 'moral architecture', 'moral geometry', 'moral spaces', 'moral universes' (1993: 13). Notwithstanding the ordered nature of Mettray's houses or its use of punishment cells in the chapel (see Driver, 1990, 276) what sets Mettray apart from other disciplinary *architectures* (e.g., the prison, asylum) is that at Mettray;

> it was not architecture that was paramount; this could be adapted according to circumstances. It was the disciplines themselves, the techniques for division rather than association and contagion (Driver, 1985: 434).

The albeit brief comparison between Redhill and Mettray above has evidenced this claim. Although the spatial arrangements of the two colonies, both internally and externally, were markedly different, the 'family system' – whilst itself adapted – was central to control and surveillance in both England and France. As one of the two founding principles of Mettray, the 'family system' – as a discipline – was held up as universal, transferable and inviolable (Driver, 1988a: 14). Thus, regardless of the specific context of its application, it was believed to;

> act at once on the hearts of its object with a sort of electric influence. They are subdued almost without a conflict (Matthew Davenport Hill, 1855: 8 quoted in Driver, 1985: 434).

The other founding principle of the colony was, of course, the reformatory power of land and labour.

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[20] In a passage which effectively turns 'Mettray into Fontevrault, or at very least highlights the centrality of time in the control of colonists and prisoners alike, Genet notes; 'We got up at six. A guard opened the door. We went to the stone-flagged corridor to get our clothes which we had left there before going to bed. We then got dressed. Five minutes in the washroom. We drank a bowl of soup in the refectory and then left for the shop. Work until noon. Then back to the refectory until one-thirty. Again to the shop. At six o'clock, mess. At seven, to the dormitory. I have just set down, exactly, the daily schedule at Mettray' (1951: 15).

LAND, LABOUR, LIBERTY

Situated five miles north of Tours (Driver, 1988a: 4) and occupying sixty hectares (Thody, 1968: 7) of an estate owned by the aristocrat Viscount Bretignieres de Courteilles (Driver, 1988a: 4), Mettray's rural location represented to some the encouragement of 'a general return to agriculture in nineteenth-century France' (Thody, 1968: 7). For others, including the colony's founder, it was land itself – as a vital tool in the reformation of delinquent characters – that was central to Mettray's distinct geography. Indeed, such was Demetz's belief in the reformatory power of agricultural labour that it was enshrined in the colony's motto, *Améliorer la terre par l'homme et l'homme par la terre* (Improve the land by man and man by the land; Thody, 1968: 7; Driver, 1988a: 6). Outdoor labour, it was thought, instilled in boys 'a sense of moral purpose, thus saving them from the perils of idleness' (Driver, 1988a: 6); the adage 'the devil makes work for idle hands' clearly underpinning the thinking of the day. Yet, labour was also, like the family system, a form of control and discipline centred upon the body of the delinquent. As Foucault notes;

> The modelling of the body produces a knowledge of the individual, the apprenticeship of the techniques induces modes of behaviour and the acquisition of skills is inextricably linked with the establishment of power relations; strong, skilled agricultural workers are produced; in this very work, provided it is technically supervised, submissive subjects are produced and a dependable body of knowledge built upon about them (1977: 294-5).

Whilst more could be made of the power/knowledge relationship evidenced here, what is important to draw out from Foucault's comments is that outdoor labour contributed to the creation of 'docile bodies'. Where the 'family system' through its web of gazes internalised discipline, making panopticism more effective (Driver, 1993: 20), when allied with the open fields of Touraine (Driver, 1988a: 23) it ensured liberty and, moreover, liberty which 'far from being the antithesis of authority [...] was supposed to be its guarantee' (Driver, 1988a: 3). In this sense, and echoing claims made above, panopticism is extended such that physical boundaries (e.g., the walls of the inmates cells, the central observation tower of the panoptic*on*) are no longer required for panoptic*ism*'s operation. In the popular consciousness Mettray became the 'prison *without* walls'. As one commentator noted;

> The little colonists are, as it were, imprisoned only by their free will; Mettray has neither armed force, nor iron bars, nor walls and [...] the only key to this colony is the key of the open fields (Ferrus quoted in Driver, 1988a: 5).

DOCILE BODIES, ABSTRACT SPACE

Yet, leaving this statement here for the moment and returning to Foucault's account above, it is also evident that the principle of outdoor labour not only creates *disciplined* 'docile bodies' but also *useful* 'docile bodies' trained, in accordance with prevailing class and gender ideologies (see Ploszajska, 1994; also above) to be either skilled in a trade or agricultural labour. Duncan, in his

study of coffee plantations in Ceylon has argued that 'the plantation was constructed to be a site of what Lefebvre has termed abstract space: the commodification and bureaucratisation of everyday life' (2002: 318). Although Duncan later goes on to explore the embodied practices of resistance (*ibid.*: 319) that ensure the planter's transformation of the perceived uncultivated Tamil body through work discipline (*ibid.*: 324) into the abstract and docile ideal body (*ibid.*: 318) was incomplete (see below), the notion of 'abstract space' is useful here in extending Ploszajska's thesis and bridging this with Foucault's comments above. The colonists at Mettray, as at farm schools such as Redhill to which the principles of Mettray diffused, were moulded with an idea of the 'abstract body' – as embodied labour – in mind and a position in society predetermined. Mettray thus operated as an 'abstract space'. Indeed, Alexis Danan, a vehement critic of Mettray (see below) 'pointed out that the work which the boys did in the fields made a handsome profit for the share-holders' (Thody, 1968: 232). We need not dwell here on the exploitative extraction of labour (and profit) under the guise of reformation that Danan highlights (although this would certainly prove a valuable endeavour), instead, it is useful in highlighting that the image of Mettray thus far presented is beginning to break down; we have seen only one side of a janus-faced institution. Another emerges through the account of one of Mettray's most (in)famous colonists, Jean Genet.

Plate 2 Mettray Dormitory
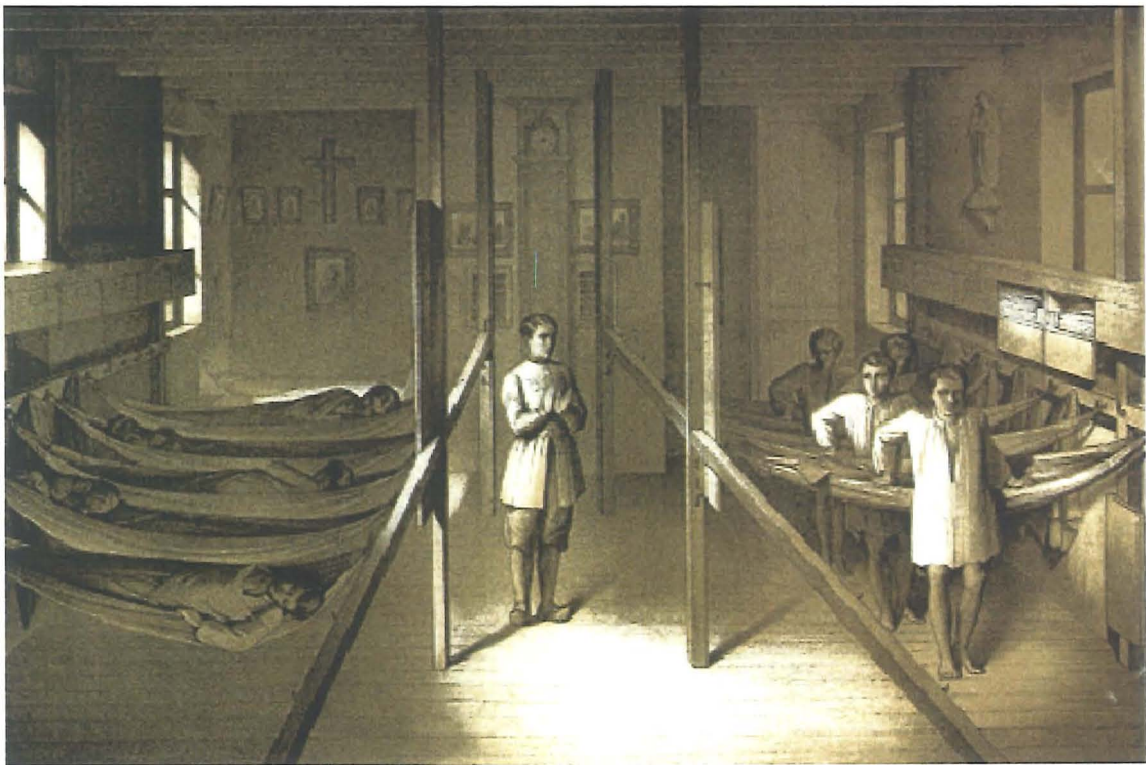
Source: République Française, Ministère de la Justice, 2003

GENET'S METTRAY

In 1926, aged 'fifteen years and seventeen days' (Genet, 1951, quoted in Thody, 1968: 6) a young man, whose criminal 'career' began with the theft of money from a blind composer to spend at the fair (BBCi, 2003), entered the gates of the agricultural colony of Mettray. Genet later reflected on his three year stay at the colony in his 1951 'pseudo-autobiographical' (Driver, 1990: 278) novel *Miracle of The Rose*. Set in Fontevrault, yet written in La Santé and the Prison de Tourelles (Thody, 1968: 14), *Miracle of The Rose* is centred upon the figure of Harcamone, a former colonist at Mettray, who after being betrayed by a fellow inmate, Divers, kills a prison guard in order to escape 'the living hell' of a life sentence (Thody, 1968: 83). He is subsequently executed after a 45-day period chained up in isolation (*ibid.*: 83). Thread throughout the novel, however, are traces of Genet's Mettray childhood which, notwithstanding the potential fabrication of events[21], challenge the vision of Demetz's Mettray above and particularly the efficacy of the 'family system'. I set this to one side for the moment and turn instead to Genet's inversion of the open geography of Demetz's Mettray arguing that it is one of both *extended* and *constrained* geographies.

LIBERTY IN THE OPEN FIELDS? CONSTRAINED GEOGRAPHIES

Unlike the image of 'the little colonists [...] imprisoned only by their free will' (Ferrus, quoted in Driver, 1988a: 5), the Mettray Genet inhabits is encircled by very distinct and material boundaries. This geography is drawn most sharply in his account of Rio, a boy who attempted to 'desert' the colony. As Genet (1951: 14) notes:

> Rio, whom I cannot think without being moved by his maiden sweetness, was about eighteen when he tried to run away. He dared set fire to a barn so that the panic-stricken peasants would get up and run to the fire in their nightshirts without taking time to lock the door. He entered unseen and stole a jacket and pair of trousers in order to get rid of the white canvas breeches and blue twill smock that were the uniform of the Colony and that would have singled him out. The house blazed away magnificently. Children, so it was reported, were burned to a crisp, cows perished, but the bold, remorseless child got as far as Orléans. It is a known fact that young countrywomen always leave a jacket and pair of trousers on the clothes-line in the hope and fear that a runaway will steal them, move the line, which rings a bell and so be caught. Traps laid by women's hands surrounded the Colony with an invisible, undetectable danger which threw pairs of frightened kids into a wild panic.

This invisible net, profiting on the *visibility* of the colonist, was further reinforced through financial incentive. Peasants surrounding the colony were offered a 50 franc reward for the capture of each runaway and thus 'the Mettray countryside was the scene, night and day, of an actual child-hunt,

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[21] Although note that Thody later remarks 'not all Genet's statements can be believed, however apparently precise they may be' (1968: 11) an assertion evidenced by the dedication of Genet's 1942 poem *Le Condamné à Mort* (which also appears in his 1944 work *Our Lady of the Flowers*) to the memory of Maurice Pilorge, a twenty-year-old murderer who was executed at Saint-Brieux prison on 17th March 1939. Pilorge was actually sent to death on 2nd February 1939 (*ibid.*).

complete with pitchforks, shotguns and dogs' (Genet, 1951: 14). Thus, Demetz's 'prison without walls' is instead maintained through a set of (intended?) 'disciplines' external to the colony (e.g., the clothes lines and 'child-hunts') which ultimately *constrain* not only the material but also the imagined geographies of the colonists. It is not free will alone that contains them; they are clearly not, as one visitor to the colony noted 'free to come and free to go' (Hall, 1855 quoted in Driver, 1990: 272).

IN THE SHADOW OF FONTEVRAULT[22]: EXTENDED GEOGRAPHIES

Contrastingly, the colonists' imagined geography of Mettray was also *extended*. The prison of Fontevrault, although situated some 25 miles from Mettray, became a feature of the colonists' imagined geography of Mettray. As Genet notes, the colonists 'lived beneath the stern gaze of the prison, like a village at the foot of a feudal castle inhabited by steel-clad knights' (Genet, 1951: 85). Although one reading of Foucault – through a narrow 'panopticism' – may 'read' this gaze as a disciplinary force (i.e., the Fontevrault prisoners are a normalising influence upon the colonists, the fear of becoming prisoners instilling self-discipline and creating 'docile bodies'), the sentiments resounding in Genet's final image of steel-clad knights – positioning the prisoners as 'heroes' to be aspired to (Thody, 1968: 85) – squares more closely with Foucault's own assessment on the nature of the 'carceral system' that he finds complete at Mettray when noting:

> Although it is true that prison punishes delinquency, delinquency is for the most part produced in and by an incarceration which, ultimately, prison perpetuates in its turn. The prison is merely the natural consequence, no more than a higher degree, of that hierarchy laid down step by step. The delinquent is an institutional product. It is no use being surprised, therefore, that in a considerable proportion of cases the biography of convicts passes through all these mechanisms and establishments, whose purpose, it is widely believed, is to lead away from prison. That one should find in them what one might call the index of an irrepressibly delinquent 'character': the prisoner condemned to hard labour was meticulously produced by a childhood spent in a reformatory, according to the lines of force of the generalized carceral system (1977: 301).

Indeed, although not explicitly cited in *Discipline and Punish*, it appears Foucault is speaking directly to Genet's experience, if leaving the reader with a vision of deterministic progression with little room for struggle or resistance to a socially constructed criminality sustained by the carceral archipelego.

I will return to the possibility of resistance below. For the moment I wish to leave the actual geography of Genet's Mettray – a geography markedly different to the vision presented and 'taken home' by pilgrims to Demetz's rural 'Mecca' – and turn to the second of Demetz's entwined founding principles, the 'family system'.

SUBVERTING THE 'NORMAL' FAMILY?

As Driver (1988a: 7) notes, the family system itself is subverted in 'Genet's Mettray [–] a secret domain, a fantastic world of social transgression and sexual humiliation, a parody of 'normal' family life'. In one sense the 'homosexuality rampant at Mettray' (Genet, 1951 quoted in Thody, 1968: 91) subverts the ideal family system, as does the brutality wielded by the *frères aînés* (*ibid.*). Notwithstanding, Genet's own assessment of the brutality of Mettray, the most sustained attack on the colony's methods came from aforementioned journalist Alexis Danan. After publishing a series of articles in autumn 1934 in *Paris-Soir* labelling Mettray and other reformatories as *bagnes* (hard-labour camps), Danan published a book two years later that contained a selection of letters from Mettray colonists which told of 'brutality, the appalling food, the disgusting sanitary conditions, the homosexuality and the violence. [Moreover,] several of these letters accused former officers of the *colonie* of causing the death of boys imprisoned there, and stated that it was quite common for boys deliberately to mutilate themselves in order to be released on medical grounds' (Thody, 1968: 8). Yet standing in stark contrast is this statement from Genet typical of his attitude towards the colony:

> I was sixteen years old. I was alone in the world. The Colony was my universe. No, It was the universe. Family B was my family (1951 quoted in Thody, 1968: 91).

Although such statements perhaps serve to illustrate more the contradictory nature of Genet's account of his three-year stay at Mettray – a contradiction best exemplified when 'he calls Mettray a heaven and a hell on virtually the same page' (Thody, 1968: 82) – they cannot be ignored as key remarks on the efficacy of the 'principles' of Demetz's Mettray.

MIND THE GAP. NEXT STOP, 'RESISTANCE'!

Notwithstanding Genet's confused, and it must be remembered, at least in part, fictional, account, what emerges throughout *Miracle of The Rose* and, to an extent, above is how different the Mettray of Demetz was to the everyday lived reality of Mettray. Yet, re-centring our analysis on the disciplines which (supposedly) reform the delinquent body and mind of the colonist, we find not simply difference but 'a gap [...] between [Demetz's] scripted invocations of what embodied selves should be like and the particular performances of self that individuals [like Genet] fabricate in their everyday lives' (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 19). It is a gap, in the case of Mettray, filled with a host of subversions of, and active resistance to, the underpinning principles of the colony, a gap evocatively captured by the 'almost' in Matthew Davenport Hill's phrase above. I therefore move to explore the entanglements constituting and continually creating this gap through an examination of the resistance practices in this disciplinary space (see Sharp *et al*, 2000: 28). An engagement with Scott's notion of 'weapons of the weak' is used as a tool to illuminate the study of resistance

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[22] Genet notes that Mettray 'blossomed curiously in [Fontevrault's] heavy shadow' (1951 quoted in Thody, 1968: 85).

practices in other disciplinary spaces such as that of The BB Company. First, however, I pause to reflect on the extent to which Foucault's theoretical accounts are open to the notion of resistance.

RESISTANCE

Undoubtedly, Foucault's account of power in *Discipline and Punish* leaves us with an image similar to that of Winston Smith with whom this chapter opened; the normalising gaze so pervasive that escape from it is impossible, so total that resistance to it is futile (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 15). Notwithstanding the ultimate futility of Winston's own attempt to resist the normalising and coercive technologies of the totalitarian state of Oceania[23], Orwell's tale remains one of resistance. Winston Smith *did* resist the (total) domination of the elusive Big Brother and, moreover, carved out spaces in which to do so (e.g., the alcove just outside the telescreen's view in which he wrote his diary [Orwell, 1949: 7-8][24]). Foucault, as Driver highlights, in his rehearsal of a number of the challenges to Foucault's totalising account of power in *Discipline and Punish*, has often been criticised for leaving no room for resistance within his analysis (see Driver, 1985: 441-3). Driver disagrees. Instead, he suggests that Foucault's analysis, far from denying the possibility of resistance;

> entails an examination of our own concepts of 'resistance' and 'nonresistance' [which] involves an extended examination of how particular struggles are actually formed, the shape they take, and the ways in which particular discourses surrounding and defining them are constructed and reconstructed. This will also involve a focus on the small-scale tactics and strategies of individuals and groups *other* than 'the working class' (1985: 443; original emphasis).

This statement not only flags up the concerns of the final section of this chapter (e.g., Driver's assertion that this analysis, in being grounded in the everyday terrains of struggle, serves to undercut Marxist assumptions 'that the tactics of struggle necessarily 'reflect' some wider social logic and that they emerge out of a (predefined) 'wills'' (*ibid.*) echoes Scott's own concerns below) but stresses that a re-examination of resistance *emerges from* Foucault's writing. Crucially then, resistance is not antithetical to Foucault's work. Although Falzon offers a more pessimistic outlook when he claims that Foucault's refusal to 'embrace a positive conception of human nature' leaves resistance futile as there is no 'ideal of a fully realised humanity, a fully human life, to fight

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[23] Of course, Smith's submission to Big Brother – most clearly captured by Smith's tracing of 2+2=5 on the dusty table of The Chestnut Tree Café after his encounter with O'Brian in Room 101 (Orwell, 1949: 303) – is entirely Orwell's point, fulfilling Smith's own prophecy that '[i]f there is hope, it *must* lie in the proles' (*ibid.*: 72; original emphasis).

[24] Indeed, it is interesting to note the importance Orwell places on the geography of Winston's room as, at least in part, a stimulus for his resistance. He notes; 'For some reason the telescreen in the living room was in an unusual position. Instead of being placed, as was normal, in the end wall, where it could command the whole room, it was in the longer wall, opposite the window. To one side of it there was a shallow alcove in which Winston was now sitting, and which, when the flats were built, had probably been intended to hold bookshelves. By sitting in the alcove, and keeping well back, Winston was able to remain outside the range of the telescreen, so far as sight went. He could be heard, of course, but so long as he stayed in his present position he could not be seen. It was partly the unusual geography of the room that had suggested to him the thing he was now about to do (Orwell, 1949: 7-8; see also Llewelyn, 2002 for further critical reflection on Orwell's dystopic geographies).

for' (2002: 417), in drawing upon Smart's useful observation that Foucault thinks we live in a *disciplinary* society, not a *disciplined* one, he amplifies this point. Foucault therefore recognises that discipline is *always* met with resistance. Falzon notes;

> Foucault's claim that conceptions of normal or natural ways of being and acting can themselves be part of processes of regulation and control means that resistance to forms of social control will involve questioning the claim that only certain ways of being and acting are legitimate, and experimenting with different kinds of selfhood, forms of individuality other than those presented to us (2002: 146-7).

This then brings us back to the aforementioned gap 'between discourse and practice' (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 19) which Sharp *et al*, through a detailed examination of Foucault's later writings (e.g., Foucault, 1979), have noted that Foucault himself has opened. Though part of an unfinished six-volume project (Gutting, 2005: 95), Foucault's last works (1979, 1985, 1986) are ultimately concerned with 'the ethical formation of the self' (*ibid.*: 101) or, rather, in Foucault's favoured terms, the ethical 'cultivation of the self' (1986: 67): i.e., 'the ethical work of the self on the self' (*ibid.*: 91). Far from effecting a break from his earlier concerns with the operation of power, Foucault *extends* his analysis: 'one exercises power within a network in which one always occupies a key position. In a certain way, one is always the ruler and the ruled' (*ibid.*: 87). Thus, crafting a notion of 'governmentality' that has proliferated across the social sciences, Foucault writes;

> On the one hand, there is an accentuation of everything that allows the individual to define his identity in accordance with his status and with the elements that manifest it in the most visible way. One seeks to make oneself as adequate as possible to one's own status by means of a set of signs and marks pertaining to physical bearing, clothing and accommodations, gestures of generosity and munificence, spending behaviour, and so on [...]. But at the opposite extreme one finds the attitude that consists, on the contrary, in defining what one is purely in relation to oneself. It is then a matter of forming and recognising oneself as the subject of one's own actions, not through a system of signs denoting power over others, but through a relation that depends as little as possible on status and its external forms, for this relation is fulfilled in the sovereignty that one exercises over oneself (*ibid.*: 85).

Thus, Foucault's concern for the 'ethical subject' as a self-fashioning individual springing, in part, from his admiration for the Greeks' 'aesthetics of existence' – life itself created as a work of art (Gutting, 2005: 102) – prises open a conception of the self that is more liberatory than those his critics (albeit *uncritically*) have read into his genealogy *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault writes;

> [T]he experience of self that forms itself in this possession is not simply that of a force overcome, or a rule exercised over a power that is on the point of rebelling; it is the experience of a pleasure that one takes in oneself. The individual who has finally succeeded in gaining access to himself is, for himself, an object of pleasure. Not only is one satisfied with what one is and accepting of one's limits, but one 'pleases oneself' (1986: 66).

Some have argued that Foucault's later works mark a shift away from the lives of the marginalised (i.e., prisoners, mental patients) 'to those whose lives are merely problematised'[25] (Gutting, 2005: 104) and, thus, his analysis becomes all the more potent, both theoretically and politically, turning, as Gutting notes, the spotlight on 'us who have the ability and opportunity to write and read books like Foucault's' (2005: 104). But, Foucault's concern for the constraints on freedom remains (already evidenced in practice through the critical reading of Mettray above); freedom is itself illusory, intimately bound to the workings of power itself (1979: 86);

> Power is tolerable only on condition that it mask a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms. Would power be accepted if it were entirely cynical? For it, secrecy is not in the nature of an abuse; it is indispensable to its operation. Not only because power imposes secrecy on those whom it dominates, but because it is perhaps just as indispensable to the latter: would they accept it if they did not see it as a mere limit placed on their desire, leaving a measure of freedom – however slight – intact? Power as a pure limit set on freedom is, at least in our society, the general form of its acceptability.

Thus Foucault does not offer a guide for the liberated self to 'see through' the workings of power but, rather, to 'see how' we fashion ourselves as (supposedly) liberated within these constraints, negotiating our selves in their *relation*. Of crucial import here are the more subtle ways through which power is exercised. In working towards a key notion of 'bio-power' Foucault hints towards a shift away from forms of disciplinary power towards an arguably more surreptitious form of pastoral power through distinct techniques of self-mastery. And here the Catholic confession as a way-marker towards a fully conceived notion of the Christian pastoral is crucial. 'Speechifying' (Foucault, 1979: 32) the sex act the practice of confession required 'an entire painstaking review of the sexual act in its unfolding' (*ibid.*: 19), and thus transformed 'sex into discourse' (*ibid.*: 22);

> [T]he Christian pastoral also sought to produce specific effects on desire, by the mere fact of transforming it – fully and deliberately – into discourse: effects of mastery and detachment, to be sure, but also an effect of spiritual reconversion, of turning back to God, a physical effect of blissful suffering from feeling in one's body the pangs of temptation and the love that resists it (*ibid.*: 23).

Notwithstanding the fact that the reformed pastoral was due to, yet never did, receive attention in Foucault's intended second volume *The Body and the Flesh* he nevertheless tantalisingly footnotes that this tradition 'also laid down rules, albeit in a more discreet way, for putting sex into discourse' (*ibid.*: 21). Thus, it was Christianity itself as a specific discursive construction through which 'discreet' forms of pastoral power were exercised that was at the heart of Foucault's planned project. Just as his *History of Sexuality* was far less about sex than the techniques of the self, the confession is but one expression of the ways in which through Christianity individuals form

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[25] Though it should be noted that one of Foucault's planned volumes concerned homosexuals, arguably as much a marginalised social grouping then as now through the discursive construction of heteronormativity.

themselves as ethical subjects in relation to themselves and (a concept of) God. While it is therefore true Foucault's later work in re-centring the self-fashioning individual does then 'prise open more of a niche for resistance than was present in *Discipline and Punish*' (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 19) resistance itself is made more complex through the Christian pastoral. Attaining self-mastery involves resisting oneself at the point of one's formation. One constrains one's desires and, to a degree (and admittedly controversially) denies oneself – *one's pleasure in oneself* – in order to gain mastery over one's body and ultimately salvation of one's soul. It is about following an example, imitating a fully human yet fully Godly life: embodied discourse; Word became flesh[26]. In this sense, resistance in both its corporeal and incorporeal forms is essential to the workings of power. Robinson's (2000) study of the nuanced, negotiated workings of pastoral power exercised through Octavia Hill housing managers is a particularly useful intervention here. Stressing the importance of a shift away from a focus on the *technologies* of power to the *relations* of power (Robinson, 2000: 77; original emphasis) an understanding dovetailing with Christianity itself which, at its core, stresses the importance of relationships to God, others (and your self)[27], Robinson (2000: 68) writes;

> Power [...] need not be thought of as simply objectifying, intrusive and imposing. In many circumstances modern tactics of power operate by enticing subjects to participate in forms of self-survellance. Subjects are drawn in to certain forms of behaviour and thinking because their own concerns or interests are met. The interiorisation of power does not happen in a straight-forward manner, though, and the transformative effects of surveillance do not happen entirely on the terms of the powerful. Power can be understood as a mutual, though rarely equal, relationship (rather than simply a technology) in which active subjects (both 'dominated' and 'dominator') participate.

On one level this resonates with a Christian view of an omnivident God: i.e., self-surveillance in view of an all-seeing deity with whom one has a *personal* relationship. Recognising oneself as both ruler and ruled but *deferring* oneself to be governed by a higher power could be considered as both an act of resistance and domination, yet curiously, neither within the bounds of faith *contra* language: pleasure in oneself can, say, be taken through this deference. On another, in both the spaces designed to nurture this relationship (e.g., The BB Company) and those with more 'earthly' ends, it points to the always negotiated nature of power as 'always contaminated with resistance' (*ibid.*). Individual embodied practices of resistance function within disciplin*ary* spaces to

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[26] As a Christian I must confess that I do struggle to make some of these claims, particularly because of the eternal struggle as a Christian academic to reconcile one's favoured theory with one's faith while leaving oneself open for the shaping of each through the other. One would be inclined here to substitute discourse with faith: Jesus with whom I have a personal relationship to me embodies spiritual truth rather than earthly discourse. However, it should be noted that such reflections, contestations and tensions integral to my own creation of my 'self' are not entirely outside the compass of Foucault's last works in their ultimate concern with the games of truth.

[27] Matthew (22: 34-40) writes; 'Hearing that Jesus had silenced the Sadducees, the Pharisees got together. One of them, an expert in the law, tested him with this question: 'Teacher, which is the greatest commandment in the Law?' Jesus replied: 'Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind'. This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it: 'Love your neighbour as yourself'. All the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments.'

perpetuate the division between these spaces and an 'abstracted' disciplin*ed* space, and as such are central to Foucault's own understandings of the working of power. Moreover, they serve as a crucial mechanism through which 'alternative selves' are created. These embodied resistance practices therefore demand attention.

'WEAPONS OF THE WEAK'

Returning to Mettray, embodied resistance is most clearly evidenced in Genet's recollection of Rio's desertion. Duncan has similarly noted that this tactic of resistance was also deployed by Tamil plantation workers who, much like the colonists at Mettray, were contained by invisible (but no less material) walls in the form of hostile Sinhalese villagers surrounding the plantation (2002: 328-329). Duncan has noted – borrowing a phrase from Scott's (1985) volume of the same name – that 'in situations of greatly unequal power, covert resistance – 'weapons of the weak' – are most important' (*ibid.*: 326). Although, as has been hinted towards above, the disciplines at Mettray served to make power diffuse, dominating power (see Sharp *et al*, 2000: 2) is still (and as witnessed above, excessively) 'wielded' by 'authority' embodied in the *frères aînés* and *chefs des familles* (of course, these figures do emerge *from* the disciplines themselves). One would suppose therefore that Mettray colonists would, as Duncan – drawing here on de Certeau – notes, "poach' [...] within the spaces of [dominating] power' (2002: 326) using 'fragments of space and time' (*ibid.*: 327) to 'work the system to their minimum disadvantage' (Hobsbawn, 1973 quoted in Scott, 1985: xv). Substituting 'workers' for colonists and 'planters and overseers' for the dual authority of the *chef de famille* and *frères aînés*, Duncan's comments on the plantation are perhaps equally applicable to the colony;

> Workers discovered ways to escape the planters and overseers' panoptical procedures; to discover places that could not be seen; to learn how to take advantage of moments when supervision was lax; to manoeuvre, as de Certeau put it, within an enemy field of vision (2002: 327).

Scott, through his detailed ethnographic study of a small Malaysian village that he calls Sedaka (1985: xvii), has not only provided a valuable theoretical and empirical insight into the ways in which subordinated groups '*manoeuvre* within an enemy field of vision', but also how they actively resist 'the enemy' through, often covert, strategies. Scott notes;

> [I]t seemed to me important to understand what we might call *everyday* forms of peasant resistance – the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labour, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them (1985: xvi; original emphasis).

Emphasising the applicability of his thesis to myriad other situations of unequal power relations, Scott continues;

Most forms of this struggle stop well short of outright collective defiance. Here I have in mind the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage and so on (*ibid.*).

Rio's aforementioned desertion, deploying at least two such 'weapons' (i.e., desertion itself and arson), can thus be understood as an open act of resistance according to Scott's schema. Moving tentatively towards the spaces of The BB Company, similarly, we need not delve too far into the history of the Boys' Club movement in Britain to find evidence of the deployment of 'weapons of the weak'. For example, Reverend Billy Carter, recalling his experiences at Mallard Street Boys' Club – the first to be opened in London by a public school (of note) as part of the settlement movement of the 1890s (Dawes, 1975: 42) – writes;

> We found that during the winter after a time the indoor games began to pall, and the boys become somewhat restive and rowdy. One not uncommon form of this rowdiness was blowing down the gas-pipe, and so putting the whole house into darkness. This happened not once or twice only and then there was general bally-rag, the result being what can be imagined under such circumstances. On two or three occasions it was found necessary to close the Club for a few days, when the boys came round again expressing their penitence for what had taken place (quoted in *ibid.*: 43).

Yet, the comparison between Rio's desertion and the rebellion of the anonymous boys of Mallard Street Boys' Club highlights wider theoretical concerns with which Scott engages, namely can both actions – to paraphrase Scott – 'usefully be considered acts of resistance?' (1985: 290). Moreover, and as Adas has argued, this question also raises sound methodological concerns. Duncan, summarising Adas's anxiety, writes;

> [Adas] claims that everyday resistance is simultaneously the most common and the most difficult to study, in part because it involves individual rather than collective action in part because it entails 'calculated errors' and incompetence rather than sustained protest (2002: 319).

Scott does not deny the importance of such methodological problems, although stresses that this question raises much wider concerns which not only potentially narrow our view of 'the political' but also the terms of the resistance debate itself. The root of this narrowing process lies, he argues, with 'the insistence that acts of resistance must be *shown* to be intended' (Scott, 1985: 290; original emphasis). Scott thus poses the question;

> What are we to call the act of the thresher who takes care to leave plenty of paddy on the stalks for his wife and children who will glean tomorrow: an act of petty pilfering or an act of resistance? (Scott, 1985: 290).

Scott concentrates upon the two key problems that emerge here: i) 'the problem of obtaining evidence of the intentions behind the act' (*ibid.*: 290), and, ii) 'broader issues of definition and analysis' (*ibid.*: 291). After noting in response to the former that, whilst the beliefs of a class (or

group) which legitimise pilfering (or another 'weapon') can be determined, it will be difficult to uncover those of the individual who conducted the act (*ibid.*: 291) Scott turns his attention to the latter problem. Taking issue with those theorists, particularly Mullin and Genovese, who position *real* resistance in contradistinction to *token* resistance (the former being collective and organised, the latter individual and unorganised 'weapons of the weak'; see Table 5), Scott argues that this either/or thinking is not only 'based on an ironic combination of both Leninist and bourgeois assumptions of what constitutes political action' (1985: 292) but also, and more alarmingly, 'allow[s] the structure of domination to define for us what is resistance and what is not resistance' (*ibid.*: 299). Scott is therefore arguing for a break from this binary mode of thinking and a recognition that resistance is inherently 'messy'; perhaps involving both resistance *and* personal gain. Returning to the question he posed above about the thresher's actions, Scott notes that, 'when it comes to acts like theft [...] we encounter a combination of immediate individual gain and what *may* be resistance' (1985: 291; original emphasis). Later he notes;

> The problem with existing concepts of resistance [...] lies in what is a misleading, sterile, and sociologically naïve insistence upon distinguishing 'self-indulgent', individual acts, on the one hand from presumably 'principled', selfless, collective actions, on the other, and excluding the former from the category of *real* resistance (Scott, 1985: 295; original emphasis).

Not only does Scott's more nuanced understanding of resistance – re-centring the self-fashioning individual – square with our discussion of Foucault above, it also draws us closer to an understanding of *temporary* spaces of domination, such as The BB Company, where, for example, the pilfering of time through deliberate (spatial) tactics results in personal gain (of time) but also *may* be an act of resistance[28]. In order to advance this argument further, however, I turn to consider consent.

Table 5 The Real Resistance/Token Resistance Dichotomy

	Real		*Token*
a)	Organised, systematic and cooperative	a)	Unorganised, unsystematic and individual
b)	Principled and selfless	b)	Opportunistic and self-indulgent
c)	Has revolutionary consequences	c)	Have no revolutionary consequences
d)	Embodies ideas or intentions that negate the basis of domination itself	d)	Implies, in either intention or meaning, an accommodation with the systems of domination

Source: Scott, 1985: 292

CONSENT

Although situated within a broader discussion of social movements in India and particularly their non-violent resistance to the 'dominating and destructive consequences of the development

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[28] Like Mettray, the space of the BB company can be theorised as both a disciplinary space and a space of domination in so far as distinct disciplines (e.g., division [into squads]) also create figures of authority and domination (e.g., the older

process' (Routledge, 1993: 31), Routledge finds the work of Sharp particularly useful in advancing the present argument. Building upon Etienne de la Boétie's voluntary servitude theory of power (i.e., 'people create their own tyrants' [*ibid.*: 31]) Sharp, in conceiving of power in an almost Foucauldian sense as fragile and pluralistic, argues that political (i.e., dominating) power – *power over* – ultimately depends 'upon the obedience and co-operation of the subjects' (*ibid.*: 34). Yet, as Routledge – himself drawing upon Sharp's own argument – goes on to note, 'obedience is not inevitable but exists only when one has complied with, or submitted to, the command, that is, when one has consented to obey' (*ibid.*: 35). Thus, and by extension, if dominating power is sustained through consent;

> the theory of non-violent action rests upon subjects withdrawing consent, cooperation and obedience from those who rule them. Through resistance by noncooperation and disobedience, subjects decline to supply power-holders with the sources of their power (*ibid.*: 35).

It should be stressed that the relationship between (dominating) power and resistance at the heart of the above statement is not scale dependent and is, I would argue, equally at home in the space of The BB Company as the state. Here too, dominating power – emerging from the distinct disciplines – is only realised given the consent of those boys who enter the space. Given discussion in the previous section emphasising that this dominating power is never 'complete', it could be speculated that embodied resistance practices (i.e., weapons of the weak) will be deployed in order to undercut authority and thus withdraw consent. The image which we are perhaps left with is one of the evening of a BB meeting as a journey between two underground stations, the flickers of light in the carriages temporary withdrawals of consent. Although this image is useful, seductive even, it is necessarily only a first base, restricted from further travel round the diamond by a vision of power as withdrawn from those dominating, not as something circulating between and among boys and leadership at given moments in time. In short, it does not adequately arrive at a Foucauldian understanding of power – as both repressive and productive – nor more importantly at the geographies of domination/resistance (Sharp *et al*, 2000: 14) through which it is entangled. In order to make tentative steps towards *this* conceptualisation of the space of The BB, I return for a final time to Scott's arguments above.

AN ENTANGLED TERRAIN?

A central part of Scott's concerns regarding the sources of domination setting the terms of what can and cannot be termed resistance is the fact that;

> The parameters of resistance are also set, in part, by the institutions of repression. To the extent that such institutions do their work effectively, they may all but preclude any forms of resistance other

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boy in the squad become its leader; see CHAPTER SIX). It is this understanding which threads through the analysis that follows.

than the individual, the informal, and the clandestine. Thus it is perfectly legitimate – even important – to distinguish between various levels and forms of resistance: formal-informal, individual-collective, public-anonymous, those that challenge the system of domination – those that aim at marginal gains. But it should be made crystal clear that what we may actually be measuring in this enterprise is the level of repression that structures the available options (Scott, 1985: 299).

Yet, whilst the 'parameters of resistance' are set and the 'available options' structured by those dominating subordinate groups, following discussion above, it should be apparent that this domination is temporary and subject to consent. Thus the parameters themselves are not permanent and fixed but dynamic and negotiable. This understanding brings us closer to an understanding of the entangled nature of power within the space of The BB conceived as one of both domination and resistance *and* each in the other. For example, it could be speculated that at particular moments the BB leadership consent to be resisted against by temporarily turning the 'gaze' away from its subjects, an action which may facilitate later consent by young people (i.e., allowing resistance to *sustain* future 'domination'). Through such 'role releases' integral to a geography of licence (Goffman, 1961: 90) there is a gain both on the part of those resisting and those dominating, emphasising the value of Scott's nuanced understanding of such practices. This to say nothing about whether leaders are themselves resisting the domination of the disciplines of The BB, nor is it to ask crucial questions surrounding who young people are resisting against. In our analysis thus far I have, deliberately, neglected to mention the third party in this power relationship: boys' parents[29]. This then further problematises the issue of consent; exactly whose is given and whose authority is being resisted against – that of the immediate cadre of leaders or that of the parents in persuading, coercing, or indeed forcing, their children to enter the space of The BB? Notwithstanding the crucial methodological concerns that this raises, which themselves echo Scott's above (e.g., how am I, as a researcher, to tease out the 'object' of, gain from, and motivation behind resistance from the act alone?), this also unsettles the simple power relation between leaders and boys commented upon above, emphasising the importance of understanding the contemporary BB Company as an entangled terrain of domination and resistance (Sharp *et al*, 2000); in short, a disciplin*ary* space.

SUMMARY

In drawing attention to embodied resistance practices, this chapter has undoubtedly – and deliberately – unsettled Demetz's vision of Mettray and particularly the efficacy of the colony's disciplines with which it opened. Yet, in closing it should be stressed that challenging Demetz's Mettray does not necessarily or entirely collapse Foucault's own arguments surrounding the colony. As witnessed above, Foucault does carve open a space of resistance centred upon the self.

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[29] Of course, following on from comments above, a fourth party may be the organisational structure of The BB itself which leaders may or may not resist.

I would argue, however, that the *disciplines* which were, as Foucault rightly notes, complete at Mettray and which later diffused throughout the 'carceral archipelago', once grounded in everyday disciplinary spaces (e.g., Mettray itself or The BB Company) are themselves *sustained* by myriad embodied resistance practices, *ensuring* the circulation of power through its negotiation between actors over, through and with space. It is on this theoretical foundation that the thesis rests.

> **WAYPOINT**
>
> >> CHAPTER TWO sets down the methodological foundations of the thesis. Discussing first the adoption of a multiple-methods research strategy, the chapter then, in turn, outlines the methods comprising this strategy: the use of a questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews and a period of ethnographic work incorporating participatory methods.
>

A CONCERN (NOW) SHARED: METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

> It is not [...] possible to be unthinkingly eclectic. Intensive research *really* is completely different from extensive research, for instance, and it is essential to know which approach you intend to use. They feed into each other but effort is needed to make them genuinely complementary (Massey and Meegan, 1985: 169; original emphasis).

Initial methodological reflections were offered to postgraduate peers and academic colleagues in January 2003. One comment has remained with me from that seminar throughout the process of this research. Paraphrasing Eric Laurier on that occasion, 'I'm a little concerned you're using rather a lot of methods; your difficulty will be getting them to work together'. Later assessment of the presentation echoed these sentiments, noting a 'danger of over-stretching given limitations of time'. In recent years, the use of a multiple-methods research approach has been celebrated on the grounds of the commitment to polyvocality at its core; 'employing a range of methodological strategies means that the researcher does not necessarily privilege a particular way of looking at the social world' (Philip, 1998: 261). Making a distinction between the oft-mentioned *mixed*-methods approach and, drawing on McKendrick (1996), the concept of a multiple-method approach, Philip notes;

> Mixed methods may be taken as referring to a situation whereby two or more methods are used to address a research question at the same stage in the research process, in the same place, and with the same research subjects. Multiple methods may be understood as being the situation in which a number of *complementary* methods are employed to address different facets of a research question, or to address the same question from different perspectives (1998: 264; added emphasis).

According to this formulation the overall approach adopted here sits squarely within the latter multiple-methods camp. Carried by enthusiasm tinged with a hint of brash confidence, I casually noted Laurier's concern and proceeded as planned, grossly underestimating, as Massey and Meegan forewarn above, the effort required to make these methods truly complementary. Thus, this concern is now shared. These reflections are designed not only to provide 'the possibility of an

'audit trail" (Evans, 2000: 280)[30] by setting out the rationale behind, mechanics of implementation, and analysis process adopted for each of the methods used, but also to do the work required to ensure that these methods 'speak to each other'. After briefly setting out the approach to documentary analysis which never truly ceased during the research and weaves through the entire thesis, the format of this chapter follows the three research phases in the order adopted: a questionnaire survey; semi-structured interviews; and ethnography.

DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

A primary concern of the thesis is how an 'institutional discourse' is disseminated and later reflected and refracted through practice to accomplish a BB Company. From the first, written interventions have been central to ensuring that the institution of The BB is brought into being. Those actively experimenting with The BB Method often sought – and received – encouragement and guidance from the Founder, and Smith's prolific output of correspondence stands as testament to this fact (Gibbon, 1953: 57, 65). As Gibbon notes;

> There was no *BB Manual*, nor any printed matter to which he could refer inquirers, and his replies to the first sets of questions asked brought more and more requests for further information. He had neither typewriter nor copying-press, so he penned not only these letters, but also clear copies of everything he wrote. He must have kept at it regularly until the small hours of the morning (*ibid.*: 71).

Dutifully drafting correspondence was an activity Smith clearly felt essential to the furtherance of the movement. When the position of President was sought at the first annual meeting of Brigade Council on 12th October 1885, Smith chose the 'humbler office' (*ibid.*: 63) of Brigade Secretary, a role he performed in a voluntary capacity until funds were raised by the first President, J. Carfrae Alston, to appoint him as full-time secretary from 1st January 1888 (*ibid.*: 79). Undoubtedly, Smith's correspondence played a vital role in cohering The BB as a national institution in its formative years, preventing it shattering into smaller locally focussed forms[31]. Arguably, documents continue to perform this function. Certain texts, most notably, the *Manual for the Use of Officers*, *Officers' Handbook*, *The Drill Book* and, *The Constitution of The Boys' Brigade* offer the movement's adult leadership guidance on the creation of a BB Company.

These 'set texts' are supplemented by the continual drip of information via The BB *Gazette*. First published in March 1889 and issued bi-monthly (Gibbon, 1953: 85), the *Gazette* was initially edited by Smith. In early editions, alongside words of encouragement and praise, were also those offering (often critical) comment on the application of The BB Method. The *Gazette* now appears four times annually. While the Brigade Secretary continues to have editorial control, guidance on the successful operation of a Company is offered more subtly through examples of 'best practice'

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[30] Building upon Miles and Huberman's (1990: 348) notion of an 'audit trail', Evans (2000: 280) writes; 'The text itself cannot inform us of just how it is connected to the events it purports to portray. We need methodological accounts: we need the possibility of an 'audit trail".

[31] This process was undoubtedly facilitated by the reduction in the cost of the penny post in 1880 from 1p to ½p (Fraser, 1980: 11).

or via official 'Brigade Announcements'. Clearly, each Company in Scotland will adapt to local circumstances, yet, arguably, these documents are central to the creation of The BB as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983), circulating an institutional discourse *through text* which identifies each Company *through practice* as a local incarnation of a unitary national movement. Thus, an important element of the research involved the distillation of this discourse through close reading of these guiding texts. It should be acknowledged, however, that no specific analysis strategy was adopted other than continual re-reading with a critical eye (see especially CHAPTER FIVE for findings drawing heavily upon this work).

QUESTIONNAIRE

The first of three major 'phases' of research was the implementation of a mail-based questionnaire survey. The adoption of this extensive and, admittedly, 'superficial' (Hoggart *et al*, 2002) method at the outset served a number of key research aims. Alongside the collection of quantitative data not captured by (mandatory and official) annual statistical returns completed by each Company, the questionnaire also provided initial and *broader* insight into the motivations behind adults' voluntary service, and Officers' reflections on some of the movement's core values and tenets, than realisable through more intensive methods later in the research. Moreover, it was considered vital that the content of these later interviews was shaped by analysis from a wider spectrum of opinion, ensuring that research 'themes' were worked up 'from the ground' rather than imposed 'from above'. It also served as a stepping stone towards later research phases: the questionnaire survey recruited (most[32]) interviewees and identified the site of the ethnographic study. The ethos of the research was therefore that, in an organisation run largely by volunteers, participation in all stages should remain voluntary; the adoption of this method ensured that the research was open from the outset. Clearly, however, logistical limitations mitigated against the distribution of the questionnaire survey to every active Officer in Scotland[33]. It was thus decided that representation from each Company would be sought through its Captain. Captains were selected for four main reasons. First, constitutionally each Company is 'under the command' of a Captain[34]. This individual must therefore maintain a working knowledge of the whole Company as one unit; Officers working within each section may not have this overview of the Company. Secondly, and more practically, Captains often have administrative responsibility for the Company and thus would have access to any statistical information requested. Thirdly, Captains tend to be those who

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[32] 18 of the 24 interview encounters were arranged via the questionnaire survey. Of the remaining six, three responded to the survey late and three did not complete the questionnaire.

[33] Scotland was selected as the focus of the study for primarily logistical reasons, ensuring that the number of questionnaires distributed and interviews conducted remained manageable within the time constraints of research conducted by a single investigator. This selection was, however, questioned by one serving Officer following the distribution of an email asking for interviewees sent to The BB's email list (see below; also CHAPTER FIVE). Although she stated that she didn't feel I had biased my research by only considering Scotland she did, nevertheless, suggest that there would have been benefit in conducting a cross-section of the United Kingdom as it would have been interesting to see if the results varied across the regions (Personal Communication, 14/04/04).

[34] Article 10 of *The Constitution of The Boys' Brigade* states; 'Every Company shall be under the command of a Captain. Other Officers shall be Lieutenants' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 2).

have served longest in a leadership role within The BB, and may bring to the questionnaire that experience and knowledge of the community within which the Company operates. Finally, there exists a historical legacy for Captains to work with the Company Section, the specific focus of later research phases. Although initially only a sample of Captains were to receive the questionnaire, the opportunity arose to distribute one to each of the (then) 520 active Captains through the incorporation of a survey in part-fulfilment of The BB's 2003-2008 Development Plan[35].

PILOT SURVEY

Considered essential to test the efficacy of the questionnaire as a research 'instrument' (Fink, 1995: 86-87; see also Aldridge and Levine, 2001: 90-91; Hoggart et al, 2002: 180-183) a small pilot survey was conducted over two weeks towards the end of July 2003 (17th-31st). As the ideal time in The BB calendar to post the questionnaire to all participants was thought to be early-August[36], a target date for distribution of the main survey was set at Thursday August 6th 2003 in line with recommendations (see Gillham, 2000: 46) that surveys should be posted so that they arrive on a Saturday when potential respondents have more time to complete them. The 'window' within which this survey could be conducted was, however, limited. The decision to incorporate the questionnaire for The BB into my own was finally taken in early-July. These time constraints, allied with a desire to obtain a reasonable response rate (at a time when potential respondents were on holiday), mitigated against a random sampling of Captains and necessitated that the 15 participants in the pilot survey were known to me. A 'convenience sampling' (Fink, 1995: 34) approach was therefore adopted, following suggestions that higher response rates are achieved if the respondent knows the researcher personally and feels they are doing something *for them* (Gillham, 2000: 9, 19). The pilot survey was posted on Thursday July 17th 2003 with a deadline for returns set at August 1st 2003. A third of these questionnaires were returned, with five respondents

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[35] This opportunity emerged as a result of my role as a co-opted under-26 member of the Scotland Committee. This Committee comprises elected representatives, co-opted members, full-time staff and Office bearers and serves as a decision-making forum responsible, in part, for the management of The BB in Scotland and the realisation of the (then Business, now Development) Plan for the period 2003-2008. Officially started on 1st September 2003, this Plan sets out a series of eight 'strategic aims'. The first is: 'To achieve an absolute focus on the needs of local companies and members. To work towards the satisfaction of our membership through a careful diagnosis of the specific needs of companies and an attention to quality in all areas' (The Boys' Brigade, 2003: 2). Four activities were set out as central to the fulfilment of this aim, the first of which, '[t]o conduct an analysis of the needs of Companies including the support required from Battalion, Regional and National HQ' (*ibid.*: 2), was to be conducted through a questionnaire survey to all Company Captains in Scotland. In previous discussion with The BB's Director of Scotland my own proposed research strategy – including the use of a questionnaire survey – had been set out. With this previous knowledge of my own research direction, it was suggested by the Director that these two exercises be combined on the grounds that both surveys were due to be circulated at the same time and a higher response rate for both would be achieved through this course of action. After further discussion with the Director, it was decided that *in lieu* of the costs involved in producing and distributing my own questionnaire, I would take responsibility for the design and management of the questionnaire required to meet the aforementioned strategic aim. This questionnaire therefore became section five of my own questionnaire survey and analysis of this section was subsequently published in two reports tabled to the Scotland Committee on 10th December 2003 (see Kyle, 2003b) and 23rd February 2004 (see Kyle, 2004), the findings from which have subsequently guided the Committee's programme of work and underpinned the format of a delegate conference for BB Officers held in Stirling on Saturday 21st May 2005.

[36] This date was deemed to be ideal as it is around this time when BB Captains start to think about 'things BB' after the summer recess, but it is before their workload increases as the new session commences. It also avoids the time when Captains are required to complete the aforementioned official statistical returns.

completing both the questionnaire (allowing misinterpretation of questions to be identified) and five direct questions asking about the *process* of completing the questionnaire (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 Pilot Survey Feedback Sheet

DEPARTMENT of GEOGRAPHY and TOPOGRAPHIC SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY of GLASGOW

Moral Landscapes of The Boys' Brigade in Scotland
PhD Research Project | Richard G. Kyle

Pilot Survey Information Sheet: *for Leaders*

What is a pilot survey?

Before a large questionnaire survey is undertaken as part of a research project a pilot survey is usually conducted. This pilot survey is designed to test whether the questionnaire which will be used in the main survey is effective. So, here, among other things, I am interested in finding out whether you understood the questions, whether the instructions provided were useful, and the length of time the questionnaire took you to complete. The questionnaire may therefore be amended in light of any feedback you provide. For this I thank you in advance.

Why have I been selected to take part?

Fifteen companies – including your own – have been randomly selected from the BB database to take part in this pilot survey.

What do I need to do?

If you agree to take part – and it should be stressed you are under **no** obligation to do so – you should complete the survey enclosed just as if you were a participant in the questionnaire survey itself. After you have completed the survey it would be helpful if you could complete the following **5 questions** below.

Will I have to complete the main survey if I complete this one?

Even though you have participated in this pilot survey, your company will receive a copy of the (potentially revised) questionnaire later this summer. As the purpose of this pilot survey is to test the questionnaire itself your responses here will not be used as part of the research. **However,** should you wish to ensure your views expressed here **are** integrated into the research (and thus consent to them being anonymously quoted in the completed PhD thesis and any subsequent publications which report on this research project) simply tick here ☐.

Pilot Survey Feedback

Q1	How long has this questionnaire taken you to complete?
Q2	Was the information sheet provided at the start of the survey clear? **Yes** ☐ **| No** ☐
Q3	Was there anything you felt you needed to be told which wasn't? **Yes** ☐ **| No** ☐
	If **YES**, what?
Q4	Were there any question(s) you did not understand? **Yes** ☐ **| No** ☐
	If **YES**, which one(s)?
Q5	Were there any questions you found particularly difficult to complete? **Yes** ☐ **| No** ☐
	If **YES**, which one(s)?

Pilot Survey Information Sheet: *for Leaders* | 1

SURVEY IMPLEMENTATION

Only minor alterations were required to the questionnaire following the pilot survey. Consequently, after two days (5th-6th August 2003) spent producing and packing questionnaires, they were posted from The BB's Scottish Headquarters to the 520 Company Captains in Scotland (identified from The BB database) on Thursday 6th August[37]. A covering letter drafted by The BB's Director of Scotland[38] encouraged recipients to respond by 12th September 2003[39]. Giving respondents a further month to reply, ten weeks later, on 12th October, 108 questionnaires were returned[40]. This represents a response rate of 21%, which, despite being under 30% and thus potentially bringing into question the results, and value and validity of the method[41] (Gillham, 2000: 48), both exceeded staff expectations at Scottish Headquarters and past precedent (Personal Communication, 27/10/03). Moreover, as Table 6 illustrates, with the exception of Moray, at least one response was received from each of Scotland's 31 Battalions, with the most (19) returned from Glasgow Battalion, the largest in terms of numbers of Companies, then home to 79 (Glasgow Battalion, 2003: 20).

I will now move from these logistical concerns to reflect on the process of using a questionnaire survey as a research tool in this project. Before considering the questionnaire's format, I first turn to consider the unique nature of the 'piggybacking' approach adopted to implement the survey that juggled my own research aims with those of The BB.

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[37] By Saturday 8th August the questionnaire was also available to download as both a Microsoft® Word document and in Adobe® PDF format from the project website. A link to this page was also made from The BB's Scottish website http://scotland.boys-brigade.org.uk, for which thanks go to Mr David Richmond, the site's webmaster. Only one individual did, however, make use of this facility.

[38] A letter of introduction from The BB's Director of Scotland was required to satisfy ethical guidelines governing the use of datasets owned by other organisations. The letter informed the questionnaire's recipients that the organisation had consented to the research and given permission for their details to be used for this purpose.

[39] This date was selected as it incorporated Brigade Council held in Scotland over the weekend of 5th-7th September 2003 at Tulliallan Castle, Fife, into this research phase. This allowed the researcher to produce and staff a display stand at the event which not only raised the profile of the research project but also served as a friendly reminder to those in attendance who had not completed the questionnaire to do so.

[40] The five individuals who completed the pilot survey were given the opportunity for their responses to be included in the main survey. All agreed to do so. Thus, the total number of questionnaires analysed for the purposes of the research was 113. Each of these five individuals would therefore have received the questionnaire twice. The response rate can therefore be more accurately reported as 22%. Moreover, as alluded to earlier, a further five individuals returned the survey after the analysis period was underway. Although these responses were excluded from the analysis of the questionnaire survey, I endeavoured to include these individuals in later stages of the project: three of these five individuals were interviewed.

[41] Gillham suggests that 'a response rate of more than 50 per cent from a sample who are not known to you has to be reckoned reasonably satisfactory. A high response rate is testimony to your questionnaire's development and the perceived importance of what you are doing. [...] If your achievement is much less than that – less than 30 per cent, for example – then the value and validity of your method and results are in question' (2000: 48). Others have, however, observed that 'Mail surveys with response rates over 30 percent are rare. Response rates are often only about 5 or 10 percent' (Alreck and Settle, 1995: 35). The rule would therefore appear to be that 'no single response rate is considered the standard' (Fink, 1995: 35) and reporting this statistic should be set, as it is in discussion above, within the specific context of the research project.

Table 6 Geographic distribution of questionnaire respondents and interviewees

Battalion	Questionnaire Respondents		Interviewees	
1. Aberdeen & District	●●●●●	(5)	●	(1)
2. Airdrie, Coatbridge & District	●●●●	(4)	●	(1)
3. Ayr	●●●●	(4)		
4. Banffshire	●	(1)		
5. Buchan	●●●	(3)	●	(1)
6. Dundee & Angus	●●	(2)		
7. Dunfermline & District	●●●	(3)		
8. East Ayrshire	●●●●●	(5)		
9. East Kilbride	●●●	(3)	●	(1)
10. Edinburgh, Leith & District	●●●●●●●	(7)	●●●●	(4)
11. Falkirk & District	●●●●●●	(6)	●	(1)
12. Fife	●●●	(3)		
13. Galloway	●	(1)		
14. Glasgow	●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●●	(19)	●●●●●●●●	(8)
15. Hamilton & District	●●	(2)		
16. Highland	●●●●●●●	(7)	●●	(2)
17. Inverclyde & District	●●●	(3)		
18. Lennox & Argyll	●●●	(3)	●	(1)
19. Moray				
20. Motherwell, Bellshill & District	●●	(2)		
21. North Ayrshire	●	(1)		
22. Orkney	●●	(2)		
23. Paisley & District	●●●	(3)	●	(1)
24. Perth	●●	(2)	●	(1)
25. Scottish Borders	●●●●●●	(6)		
26. Shetland	●	(1)		
27. Solway	●●	(2)		
28. Stirling & District	●●●	(3)	●	(1)
29. Strathkelvin	●●●●	(4)		
30. West Lothian	●	(1)		
31. Wishaw & District	●●●●●	(5)	●	(1)
		113		24

THE FRANKED BROWN ENVELOPES: CONSIDERING PHYSICALITY

The decision to integrate my own questionnaire with The BB's, thus balancing the needs of the two parties, raises wider questions surrounding research with organisations of which the researcher is both a 'complete member' (Adler and Adler, 1987 quoted in Coghlan and Brannick, 2001: 41) and self-fashioned 'irreverent inmate' (Cooklin, 1999 quoted in Coghlan and Brannick, 2001: 63-4)[42].

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[42] Although not linked to career advancement within the organisation (yet I clearly place importance on continued involvement in the movement), Coghlan and Brannick's discussion of Adler and Adler's (1987) 'complete member role' strikes a chord with the experience of undertaking this research project. They note; 'You will be changed through the process. As you are familiar with your organisational setting, you have to create the space and character for your research role to emerge. You need to learn how to look at the familiar through a fresh perspective, develop relationships with people you did not associate with previously, change the nature of pre-existing relationships with them, and become involved with the setting more broadly than hitherto in your functional role' (2001: 41). Moreover, their discussion of Cooklin's (1999) notion of the 'irreverent inmate' goes some way towards encapsulating the positionality that I attempted

Undoubtedly, distinct advantages and disadvantages accrued for both parties. The clearest advantage for the researcher was financial. This enabled a survey of *all* Captains to be conducted. Cost-savings were also made by The BB in terms of staff-time, as the researcher produced the questionnaire, processed and analysed the data generated, and reported its findings to the Scotland Commitee. Moreover, it could be speculated that respondents were more honest with the researcher than they would have been when answering the questions underpinning these reports, as they knew that, despite being returned to The BB's Scottish Headquarters, the questionnaires were not opened by staff there; a distinct advantage for The BB. It is also conceivable that my response rate increased through this strategy as recipients may have felt more inclined to complete the questionnaire in the knowledge that it was not solely for personal benefit (i.e., furthering an academic career) but that through my effort I was also 'doing something' for The BB. There could also be distinct disadvantages of this approach, however, allied to the fact that its adoption altered both the physicality of the questionnaire itself and the *experience* of its receipt.

Picture yourself as a BB Captain waking that Saturday morning to find a brown envelope on your doormat. What are you thinking? It bears a BB frank, from Scottish Headquarters. Do you open it now or leave it for later? Maybe you decide to open it. Inside you discover a questionnaire, and a covering letter from The BB's Director of Scotland on headed notepaper. It reads as follows:

> Dear Colleague
>
> **Moral Landscapes of The Boys' Brigade in Scotland – Richard Kyle**
>
> I write to introduce Richard, one of our young KGVI trained officers, and a member of International Team. Richard serves as an officer in a Glasgow company.
>
> Richard has chosen The Boys' Brigade as his research project for his PhD. As you will see from the survey it is confidential to Richard, but part of the survey will provide information playing an important part in the Brigade's Business Plan.
>
> Please assist Richard by completing the survey and mailing it to Richard using the enclosed reply envelope.
>
> A response by 12 September 2003 will be greatly appreciated.
>
> Thank you, in anticipation of your assistance.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> Director, Scotland

You might be encouraged by the fact that the researcher is an active KGVI trained Officer[43] involved in The BB nationally through its International Team, but maybe you are discouraged by

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to navigate throughout the project. Coghlan and Brannick note; 'Cooklin refers to the insider change agent as the 'irreverent inmate' who is a supporter of the people in the organisation, a saboteur of the organisation's rituals and a questioner of some of its beliefs' (*ibid.*: 63-4).

[43] Named after the former monarch, KGVI (King George VI) is a two-week residential training course for young leaders completed over a 12-month period. Upon completion 'cadets' may be appointed as Lieutenants in The BB. An initial week-long 'New Entrants' course is held during one summer with a week-long 'Second Year' course held the following summer. The intervening period is used to put into practice the skills learnt during the 'New Entrants' course in a local

the questionnaire's size; its 41 challenging questions over nine pages. Perhaps the hour it will take to complete is too long. Maybe you just do not like filling in questionnaires.

The actual reasons why 79% of those who received the questionnaire decided not to complete it remain unknown; we are always here in the realms of guesswork. But, as this short discussion illustrates – placing the reader in the recipient's shoes – their decision whether or not to complete the questionnaire is determined by a series of small judgements influenced by the *experience* of its receipt; the overall decision is often made 'within the first few *seconds* after initial contact' (Alreck and Settle, 1995: 144; original emphasis). Yet, arguably, it is not only the physicality of the questionnaire – from the thud of the envelope as it lands on the carpet to its textual layout – which is central to this experience. Instead, when conducting research with organisations, researchers must be cognisant of the fact that it is not just the reaction to questionnaires from academic researchers which is in play, but also the recipient's reaction to the organisation under study at the time. Taking seriously Hoggart *et al*'s observation that 'even the appearance of the envelope in which the questionnaire arrives can influence whether people respond' (2002: 176), the fact the brown envelope bore all the markings of The BB – it was franked, it appeared 'official' – should not be ignored. Immediately upon its arrival it would have stirred up a range of feelings about the organisation and, crucially these too will influence the experience and, ultimately, the response rate, perhaps detrimentally[44].

INSIDE THE BROWN ENVELOPES: CONSIDERING FORMAT

The questionnaire arguably departed from several 'conventions' surrounding effective questionnaire design. Its length was considerably longer than some commentators have suggested desirable. Gillham, for example, contends that; 'A questionnaire may be *too* slight to be taken seriously, but four to six pages (depending on design and layout) is probably the maximum. In exceptional cases up to twelve pages may be feasible' (2000: 10; original emphasis). Others comment 'that mail questionnaires should be no longer than 12 pages; in general, most range between 4 and 12 pages' (Bourque and Fielder, 2003: 98). Although assessments vary, the fact that 'other things being equal, the longer a questionnaire is the lower the response rate' (Aldridge and Levine, 2001: 107) would appear to hold true. The format adopted was, however, guided by careful consideration of its audience. While Strange *et al*'s observation that 'self-completion questionnaires may allow people to express views on issues about which they may not feel comfortable talking with an interviewer' (2003: 337) is perhaps of less importance here given the focus of this research project (though that it does open space to do so should not be underplayed), the attentiveness to (the needs of) the audience that it highlights is crucial. Judging the

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Company setting. Courses are held at all three of The BB's Training Centres: Carronvale House, Larbert; Felden Lodge, Felden and Rathmore House, Larne; also home to the Scottish, UK and Northern Irish Headquarters, respectively.

[44] Captains receive a Captain's mailing from BB Headquarters at various points in the year. Thus the dedicated mailing used to distribute the questionnaire ensured it was not 'lost' among other material to be dealt with. The start of the session is a particularly busy time for Captains filled with a variety of preparatory administrative tasks. So, avoiding this period was considered essential in order to give the questionnaire the greatest possible chance of being completed by the greatest number of Captains.

questionnaire's audience as 'busy yet committed', it was deemed appropriate to distribute a lengthier questionnaire as many respondents may invest the hour required to complete it in the knowledge that they have 'done their bit' in a small part of a much larger process. Undoubtedly, a shorter questionnaire following the conventions of questionnaire design would have received a higher response rate (Aldridge and Levine, 2001: 107; see above). Yet, given the process was guided by an underpinning ethos that could be summarised as 'depth in breadth', a conscious attempt to move beyond the apparent superficiality of a questionnaire survey to recover in detail some of the silences of an interview-only approach, this length was considered appropriate. The questionnaire design attempted to circumvent the breach of the length 'convention' through compartmentalisation. By dividing the questionnaire into six sections, 'the task' was not only made to '*appear* simpler and easier for respondents' (Alreck and Settle, 1995: 153; original emphasis) – ensuring 'that it *look[ed]* manageable' (Aldridge and Levine, 2001: 107; original emphasis) – but it was 'actually ma[de] so' (Alreck and Settle, 1995: 153). Adopting these design rules allowed respondents to 'dip in and out' as they sought fit, perhaps completing some of the more factual questions on a first pass while pondering their responses to its more challenging elements.

Transparency surrounding the research methods adopted is central to the reader's acceptance or otherwise of findings drawn using data they generated (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 511; Crang, 2002: 652)[45]. Thus, the rationale behind the questionnaire's content and design is set out, alongside the 'instrument' itself in APPENDIX 1 providing opportunity for closer scrutiny and critical assessment of whether this achieved the aim of clarity through its design.

ANALYSIS STRATEGY

The strategy adopted to recruit questionnaire respondents constrained subsequent analysis. Alreck and Settle assert that 'a *random* sample is the most desirable kind for almost every survey' (1995: 70; original emphasis), the approach adopted here, 'not based on a random sample', provides 'no base for undertaking (inferential) statistical tests' (Hoggart *et al*, 2002: 186). A desire to make inferences about a population of BB Officers from a random sample, while achievable, was never considered desirable. Surveying the entire population of BB Captains had other aims namely, ensuring the research remained inclusive, minimising feelings of 'Why was I picked? [or] Why wasn't I picked?' (Gillham, 2000: 18) and the privileging of 'an approach [that] allows data gathered early to be analysed in time to influence subsequent data selection and gathering' (Aldridge and Levine, 2001: 81) flowing into an understanding of research as a continuous, never-ending, *process* occupying the interstice between verbal and written pauses, of which this thesis is but one (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 40). Thus, the 'sample' here is self-selecting; the product of voluntary decisions to return the questionnaire. The difficulty of inferring something about the

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[45] Crang (2002: 652) echoes Baxter and Eyles' own assertion that 'it seems that the key to 'validity' is clarity – making implicit 'rules' explicit' (1997: 511).

'population' from a 'sample' therefore remains. Answers to the questions requesting quantitative data were not used to extrapolate a typical Officer, representative of the population, but to sketch a caricature of the respondents and their Companies. Simple counts and averages calculated in Microsoft® Excel served as the basis of these sketches (see CHAPTER THREE).

The questionnaire also represented the first foray into qualitative analysis. Content analysis teased out key themes through a 'tactile' approach. Responses to each open-ended question were collated into a single typed document, printed, and then cut into strips, each containing one answer. These strips were subsequently sorted into categories by hand, stacks eventually emerging, with each pile representing a predominant theme. Themes were then tabulated and ranked according to the frequency with which they occurred (see, e.g., CHAPTER THREE, Table 7). Question-specific adaptations of this method of analysis are reported in discussion of the findings they generated. This strategy could undoubtedly be criticised for fragmenting a respondent's 'set' of answers (see Woodward, 1996: 56-58). Thus, 'linkage analysis' could have been used to maintain the integrity of an individual's responses. Informally, of course, this *is* conducted through the iterative process of re-reading completed questionnaire surveys while fragmenting the data. More formally, this is partly effected by individually identifying each questionnaire respondent's answers by way of unique codes (see below; though admittedly this does prompt the reader to do this work and only a partial 'whole' can be arrived at through such cross-referencing as only a fraction of available material is reproduced).

INTERVIEWS

The second research phase flowed from the first: it facilitated both the 'recruitment' of interviewees and shaped the content of these encounters. Of the 113 questionnaire respondents, 18 were interviewed[46]. Three respondents who returned the questionnaire late also participated, along with three individuals who did not complete it; one individual was 'recruited' through a snowballing strategy, the remaining two responded to an email invitation posted on The BB's mailing list on 14th April 2004. In this way, 24 interviews were arranged involving 33 participants. Of these, 19 interviews were held with one interviewee, a further four with two interviewees present (in three cases a husband and wife coupling), and one involved six participants. All interviews were conducted over a four-month period between 23rd March and 27th July 2004 and were held in a variety of locations ranging from interviewees' homes (in which 12 were held) to rooms at their church (6) or place of work (3). On three occasions interviewees travelled to the University to participate. As Table 6 illustrates, 13 of Scotland's 31 Battalions were represented, an initial bias towards Companies in Scotland's 'central belt' counterbalanced by a week-long interview 'tour' of the north-east (14th–18th June 2004). Conversations were between 41 minutes and three hours in length (on average 1 hour 20 minutes). All interviewees consented to being

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[46] Of the 113 questionnaire respondents, seven volunteered to be interviewed. Due to a variety of reasons, however, only two of these individuals were interviewed. The remaining 16 were 'recruited' via a follow-up email or telephone call using the contact details provided by respondents on the last page of the questionnaire (see APPENDIX 1).

taped, permitting transcription to take place. This process was conducted concurrently with the interviews and was thus complete by 30th July 2004. Before turning to consider how the materials generated through these encounters were analysed, the rationale behind the adoption of this method and the content of the interviews should be set out.

THE ENCOUNTERS

An understanding of each interview encounter as a 'constructed event' (Lapadat, 2000: 214) contingent upon a variety of controlled and controllable factors (e.g., location [Valentine, 1997; Cook and Crang, 1995], self-presentation [O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994; McDowell, 1995; Parr, 1998; Cook and Crang, 1995; Thomas, 1993], positionality [Hartsock, 1983, 1987; Harding, 1987], self-disclosure [Valentine, 1997]) and constituted in a web of unstable relations of power circulating through the encounter (Delph-Janiurek, 2001) is familiar to those working reflexively[47] within 'feminist epistemological frameworks' (Campbell, 2003: 290) wed to post-structural sensibilities stressing (inter)subjectivity and the situatedness of knowledge creation (Haraway, 1988; Bryman, 1998). Interventions cited above offering critique of 'the interview' as a social research method evidence the problematic nature of their use. If, though, one makes the assumption that individuals can coherently convey their 'beings' and 'doings' through 'talk' (see below; also Mason, 2002: 237), interviews remain a crucial vehicle through which others can reflect upon the human condition and the orderings – timings and spacings – of human society. They serve to answer our questions of 'why they do what they do' (to which, addressing the above caveat, can be added 'if they first know (why[48]) they do it and, secondly, can communicate this verbally'). It is because this research project sought not only to identify practice but to understand the motivations behind, and moral assumptions underpinning, such practice that interviews were adopted. Yet, stating this is not sufficient; it does not lessen the need for critical reflection upon my conduct during, nor the content of, the interviews carried out.

The somewhat clichéd and overly de-politicised 'I am...' statement of one's position which passed as reflection on one's positionality has thankfully been replaced by critical examination of 'how we are ourselves positioned in relation to various contexts of power and how such power can be channelled in politically progressive ways' (Jackson, 2000: 605). And, an acknowledgement that this infuses the motivations behind a research project from its outset has served to remove such reflection (as in this work) from its ghettoised position in 'methodology chapters' to its rightful place in their introductions. Although not wishing to re-rehearse arguments made earlier, it is

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[47] England defines reflexivity thus; 'self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious *analytical* scrutiny of the self as researcher' (1994: 82; original emphasis). However, drawing upon Rose's (1997) observations, Crang's discussion provides a forceful caveat here; '[r]eflexivity has become something of a shibboleth – no one will brag about being unreflexive – but it has been critiqued for implying the eventual goal of a fully known social situation, when claiming to know even our own motives is difficult enough' (2002: 651).

[48] 'Why' is included here as parenthetic text as doing so serves as a 'nod' towards (psychoanalytic; Rose 1997 and non-representational; Thrift, 2000; Lorimer 2005) theoretical turns suggesting that not all of an individual's actions are even knowable by the individual performing them: not knowing what it is one does clearly inhibits one's ability to create a discursive construction of the act and communicate this (see Cook and Crang, 1995: 49-50).

nevertheless valuable to consider how my positionality relates *specifically* to these research encounters, particularly as this influenced both self-presentation and self-disclosure[49].

Driven by a desire to democratise the research process, some researchers have sought to leave themselves open to interviewees' questionings during research encounters. Campbell, for example, in her research with police officers, comments; 'I invested some of my own identity into the relationship and encouraged officers to question me about it' (2003: 296). While she subsequently agrees (at least in part) with Finch's (1993: 174) charge that such a tactic 'only amounts to a 'set of techniques' which can be used to great effect to solicit a range of information independently of any commitment to egalitarianism' (*ibid.*) – i.e., that it truly is an *investment* with the expectation of a return – there are wider issues surrounding self-disclosure warranting attention, not least the warning that a researcher sharing their views on a particular topic may serve to silence interviewees, making them feel uncomfortable expressing their opinions. And here Oakley's caricature of the advice usually offered in this regard is insightful;

> Never provide the interviewee with any indication of the interviewer's beliefs and values. If the informant poses a question [...] parry it. When asked what you mean and think, tell them you are here to learn, not to pass any judgement, that the situation is very complex. If [...] the interviewer should be asked for his [*sic*] views, he should laugh off the request with the remark that his job at the moment is to get opinions, not to have them (1981: 35 quoted in Cook and Crang, 1995: 48).

Working from a feminist perspective Oakley forcefully argued 'that researchers should not only *admit* that they contribute their own ideas and feelings to such conversations, but that they are *morally obliged* to do so as part of a necessary dismantling of the traditionally hierarchical and exploitative research encounter' (Cook and Crang, 1995: 49; original emphasis). Others go further, contending that researchers have a moral duty actively to 'challenge offensive comments because to remain silent is to reproduce and legitimise the interviewees' prejudices through collusion' (Valentine, 1997: 122; see also Griffin cited in Skeggs, 2001).

As both academic researcher and active BB Officer travelling through various organisational circuits, I hold views about the current shape of, and future hopes for, the movement. Although I quite consciously attempted not to disclose these (e.g., by not engaging with discussion on The

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[49] While sidelined in the discussion above, in the interests of completeness a note should be made regarding location as a contingent factor shaping the research encounter. Cook and Crang's observation that conducting interviews in the interviewees' 'homeplace' not only provides further lines of enquiry to explore but also reveals details of the 'stuff' of their everyday lives prompts reflection here (1995: 38-40). The fact that half of the interviews took place in interviewees' homes not only provided pauses for tea and biscuits (I 007; I 009; I 018) (or on two occasions, lunch [I 0-01; I 016]) facilitating informal conversations during (or over dinner on two occasions prior to [I 004; I 020]) the interview, it also allowed interviewees to draw other objects into the encounter (e.g., videos [I 005], newspaper cuttings [I 019; I 014], photographs [I 019]) and revealed some curious insights regarding the place of The BB in their lives (e.g., on one occasion when visiting the bathroom I found a copy of The BB's *Manual for the Use of Officers* lying open on the floor (I 016) or, on another, discovered the interviewees two dogs' were called Bob and Buster (a subtle replication of the acronym BB?) [I 019]). Moreover, on one occasion where the interview was held in the same place as the interviewees' Company this led to a tour of the spaces used, adding further depth to my understanding of its realisation (I 024). As an aside, I did not purposefully request that each interview occurred in the same place as the Officer's Company was realised partly because I was aware that I would spend an extended period of time in one Company conducting the ethnographic component of the research. Had this phase not been part of the research process I would have encouraged *in situ* interview encounters.

BB's email list; see CHAPTER FIVE) some thoughts were inevitably 'made public' during the research process through my involvement in various decision-making forums. Wider engagement in the movement at both regional and national levels also meant that I was party to information not available to my interviewees. I did not, however, approach these encounters as a 'knowing insider' but consciously constructed myself as an 'enquiring outsider' (Alderson, 2001: 140). In short, I deliberately overplayed my role as a *researcher*. Although I downplayed my involvement within The BB, this was frequently drawn into conversation (e.g., interviewees would enquire about how my Company formed up at the start or end of the evening when discussion turned to that 'task'; see below), although this most often occurred after the interview had concluded. Overall, however, I heeded McCracken's advice in order to create a space affording interviewees freedom of expression; 'it is better to appear slightly dim and too agreeable than to give any sign of a critical or sardonic attitude' (1988: 38 quoted in Cook and Crang, 1995: 43)[50]. It is plausible, then, that interviewees left feeling that I agreed with their views, and my frequent use of 'mhmm' could be construed not only as a prompt to continue (Valentine, 1997: 124) but also as a sign of agreement. This was clearly not the case, however. Nor is it the case that *my* views did not alter. For this reason Coghlan and Brannick's aforementioned discussion of Adler and Adler's 'complete member role' finds favour: 'you will be changed through the process' (2001: 41; see also Widdowfield, 2000: 200)[51].

Taking seriously O'Connell-Davidson and Layder's claim that 'the interview is a social encounter, and how the respondent answers the questions will depend to some degree upon what the respondent and interviewer think about each other' (1994: 118 quoted in Valentine, 1997: 118), 'the researcher's body [itself can be used] as a strategic tool [...] and can play an important role in the flow of interpersonal connections' (Parr, 1998: 28). Parr continues;

> Here, different and changeable 'orderings' of the body (in terms of presentation, touch, smell, and stance) may be involved, ones which may cause familiar constructions and understandings of the corporeal self to be transgressed (*ibid.*)

If a questionnaire respondent judges whether or not to complete it 'within the first few *seconds* after initial contact' (see above; Alreck and Settle, 1995: 144; original emphasis) based on its appearance, 'the body' can be deployed as a device of 'impression management' (Evans, 1988: 207; Bell, 1999) on first meeting the interviewee 'to close some of the distance that may exist between yourself and your interviewee' (Cook and Crang, 1995: 38). The researcher's body thus

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[50] Adopting a self-critical stance, however, it is worth noting that there is almost present here a tacit assumption that *had* I divulged my own views I would have 'biased' the interview in some way. And, here, Cook and Crang's constant questioning 'away from what?' (1995: 45, 48) clearly prompts reflection on my practice. There was throughout a desire to ensure interviews were relaxed and, as far as possible, enjoyable: that interviewees had *volunteered* to participate was always at the forefront of my mind. This is not to say, however, that in playing up my insider role, perhaps setting my own practice against the interviewees' would not have proved insightful (and, in hindsight, I would have experimented with this, admittedly more risky and potentially confrontational approach).

[51] Widdowfield notes; 'while there is general acknowledgement that the researcher affects the research process [...] there is less appreciation (or certainly in academic writings) that this is often a two-way relationship – not only does the researcher *affect* the research process but they are themselves affected by this process' (2000: 199-200).

becomes 'a 'tool' of negotiation, one that researchers manipulate (as far as possible) to 'fit in' with the other bodies that are present in a given research situation' (Parr, 1998: 31). Although Parr controlled the level of activity, smell and deportment of her researching body in the context of mental health 'drop-ins' (1998: 31-32), most often it is dress which is manipulated (as Parr did also) in an effort to bridge distance (see, e.g., McDowell, 1995; Cook and Crang, 1995; Thomas, 1993; Oerton, 2004; Bain and Nash, 2006). While there was little need to dress 'up' (as practiced by Thomas and McDowell) or 'down' (as Parr) in my research encounters, I did nevertheless manage appearance to play up a professional academic persona. When visiting interviewees' homes I dressed casually (e.g., jeans, t-shirt, jumper) but added a smarter blazer or overcoat and carried a case rather than a rucksack, as I perceived interviewees would expect me to be smartly 'turned out'. Perhaps more subtly, I endeavoured to wear polished black shoes hoping to ingratiate myself through this subtle cue: the polished shoes proof positive of a BB pedigree. I did, then, draw into this performance elements of my insider status to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and build rapport. Yet, this was not utilised in any other way; I did not, for example, wear BB lapel pins, ties or t-shirts. Nor did I wear uniform in a setting where doing so would be inappropriate. (Although there are issues surrounding my *legitimate* access to uniform and my decision not to wear it in appropriate settings, to which I return in discussion of participant observation below).

Leaving aside this discussion of *context*, the *content* of interviews on a question-by-question basis is considered as part of an attempt to address Baxter and Eyles' observation that; '[r]arely is there mention of biases, motivations and interests of the researcher in relation to the questions asked and the decisions made throughout the research process' (1997: 517). Before outlining the questions asked, however, a note regarding their delivery should be penned. Throughout each encounter, questions were asked in a relaxed fashion to construct the event as a free-flowing conversation. I was not, therefore, afraid to rephrase questions if they had not been conveyed clearly enough the first time. Similarly, silences were cultivated to give interviewees time to contemplate their responses without pressure. When interviewees interjected into my questionings, they were permitted to continue through the termination of my 'speaking turn' (see Laurier, 1999 and Doel's (1999) reply). These 'tactics' were considered essential to ensure each interview was an enjoyable '*social* encounter' (see above; O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994: 118 quoted in Valentine, 1997: 118; added emphasis).

On the 'structured-open-ended continuum' (Hoggart *et al*, 2002: 205; Cook and Crang, 1995: 36) the interviews conducted could thus be characterised as semi-structured: an interview guide (Patton, 1990) approach was adopted with a series of questions phrased in a similar way posed to each interviewee. Flexibility governed the order in which questions were asked. Only the first and final question was fixed, with the interviewer introducing other questions on the 'guide' into the conversation at an appropriate point in the discussion. Further *ad hoc* questions were introduced in direct response to the interviewee's comments and my analytical listenership (Campbell, 2003: 295; Delph-Janiurek, 2001: 417). In addition, four 'tasks' were devised, three of

which expanded upon questions from the questionnaire. Each task had an accompanying 'handout'. The introduction of this haptic intervention in the interview worked, much like the use of vignettes in interviews, by introducing a 'third party', often diverting attention from the interviewee (and indeed the tape recorder) and prompting the interviewee to speak to and through the sheet of paper (see Barter and Renold, 2000: 318). While each encounter was unique and characterised by fluidity, a 'typical' interview schedule can nonetheless be created after careful re-examination of the transcripts. Adopting a similar format to the explanatory note accompanying the questionnaire this schedule is set out in APPENDIX 2.

ANALYSIS STRATEGY

In a paper problematising the transcription process, Lapadat asserts; 'transcription decisions and processes employed during data collection and analysis need to be explained clearly and thoroughly in the write-up' (2000: 217). Taking this charge seriously, the process of transcribing interviewees' recorded utterances into a written artefact of the encounter requires attention. Verbatim transcripts were produced by the researcher. This, while time-consuming, had the distinct advantage that I was 'close to the data' (ibid.: 215). The fact transcription was conducted concurrently with interviews ensured the series of 24 interviews were part of a process: preliminary (first impression) analysis through the transcription process allowed initial findings to be shared in subsequent encounters (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002: 210)[52], a practice in keeping with the 'grounded' approach to the research project (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Transcripts noting pauses, exhalation, inhalation, intonation and emphases in talk, of more import to conversational analysis (see Laurier, 1999), while potentially insightful, were not deemed worth the extra time expenditure that their production demanded: the interest here resting with the 'content of an interviewee's remarks' (Lapadat, 2000: 214; original emphasis). All conversational cues were not, however, eschewed in the production of transcripts. Lengthy pauses were intimated by ellipses, repetitions of words recorded, and murmurings (e.g., 'ums', 'ers', and 'mms') noted. These practices of talk arguably pinpoint moments when interviewees potentially struggled to express their ideas, and questions prompting such difficulties are undoubtedly insightful to note (see especially the discussion of 'calling' in CHAPTER THREE and explanation of reverence in CHAPTER FIVE)[53].

It would be easy simply to note that the transcripts 'constructed' (ibid.) were coded. Yet, as Basit's recent (2003) intervention highlights, practices of coding, like those of transcription, require problematisation, especially given availablity of electronic methods of performing this process (e.g., NVivo). The coding practice adopted here was a continual, manual and critical re-reading of

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[52] Gerson and Horowitz note; 'Because depth interviews, unlike surveys, are conducted by one, or at most, a few persons, they take place slowly over an extended period of time. This process creates its own rhythm, serving as a check and balance for the imperfections of any one interview and allowing flexibility and change. Early interviews provide the occasion for discovering unanticipated insights, which can then be used to inform successive ones' (2002: 210).

[53] Interestingly, both of these occasions involved the discussion of 'the religious'.

the text. Following initial readings, codes – both *etic* and *emic*[54] – were assigned to portions of the transcript. Thus, a balance was struck between Miles and Huberman's (1994) two coding methods (i.e., the 'grounded' approach with no prior codes, and that using a provisional 'start list of codes prior to fieldwork'[55]; quoted in Basit, 2003: 145). This task was made easier by creating electronic files containing all data on a particular topic (e.g., camping, parading, the Object) despite the fact that, as Tesch (1990) warns, this has the effect of 'de-contextualising segments [...] by carv[ing them] out from their original place in the original data' (Basit, 2003: 149). Before finally adopting the above approach, coding using NVivo was attempted, yet aborted, in favour of a more 'mobile' approach. Notwithstanding the fact that the volume of data generated would have made the task of learning to operate the software a worthy investment of time, initial 'trial runs' did not prove conducive to analysis, not least because it 'rooted' me in front of a computer in an office and did not allow my ponderings over the data to occur in a variety of locations. (I have always considered the movement of research data across space – the very geographies of the researcher – to be invaluable to the drawing of fresh insight, an approach that acknowledges and celebrates research as a continual *lived* process [Wright Mills, 1970: 215-216][56].) This is not to say, however, that all coding was conducted manually. Working with extended quotations from interviewees in a single document, these were 'juggled' on-screen to identify similarity or dissimilarity in interviewees' patterns of thought, a technique also serving to highlight majority and minority views (and, indeed, absences) visually. The coding approach adopted was perhaps less programmatic than other practices: characterised by its fluidity rather than sequential iterative readings of the series of transcripts from first to last until 'theoretical saturation' was reached. The process was, however, undergirded by a sense of responsibility to interviewees. My aim was to understand (as far as possible) interviewees' own understandings of the processes and practices reflected upon in the encounters, the crucial question guiding analysis therefore being 'if I have to present this understanding to each interviewee, would they recognise it as their own?' In short, am I honestly representing my participants' views? Thus, while working with transcripts I constantly thought beyond, and through, them to the encounters in which they were formed and the relationship forged with that *individual* existing within, yet flowing without, that event. It is, then, an approach that,

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[54] Put baldly, an emic code is one that captures the meaning of a section of text in the interviewee's own terms. Etic codes, on the other hand, are those applied by social scientists reading an interviewee's comments through established theoretical constructs. In reality, however, there is a degree of fluidity between these two methods of coding; as researchers we must be open to the fact that others' constructions can influence those crafted theoretically.

[55] Where relevant, earlier content analysis of questionnaire responses provided this start list of codes (e.g., when interviewees were asked why they were a BB Officer, answers to this question in the questionnaire were used [see CHAPTER THREE, Table 7]).

[56] Wright Mills notes; 'That the most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community you have chosen to join do not split their work from their lives. They seem to take both too seriously to allow such dissociation, and they want to use each for the enrichment of the other. [...] Scholarship is a choice of how to live as well as a choice of career; whether he [*sic.*] knows it or not, the intellectual workman forms his own self as he works towards the perfection of his craft [...] he constructs a character which has as its core the qualities of the good workman [...] an intellectual craftsman' (1970: 215-216 quoted in Hornsby-Smith, 2002: 138).

while affording opportunity for critical reflection, emphasises ethical responsibility to research participants[57].

This issue of responsibility also guided the subsequent representation of interviewees' spoken utterances as text, and here a distinct 'politics of quotation' emerged. Attempting to address Baxter and Eyles' concern that, 'although most qualitative reports display verbatim quotations, there is rarely discussion of how particular quotations are selected for presentation from the range of available interview texts' (1997: 509), selection decisions and subsequent editing of quotations should be made explicit. The immediately apparent abundance of quotations herein is an attempt in a vehicle affording space to do so (i.e., a doctoral thesis, as opposed to, say, a peer-reviewed journal article) to allow the interviewees as much as possible to 'speak' for themselves. Nuances in these quotations are often not expanded upon as part of a deliberate strategy not to do all the reader's work for them in the hope that resultantly the thesis will be a more rewarding read. A distinct selection process has, however, been adopted, with quotations generally chosen on the basis that they encapsulated a wider set of shared views. Where similar sentiments were echoed by others and the inclusion of multiple quotations would unduly disrupt the flow of the (clearly structuring) narrative, a desire to ensure as great a variety of individuals were given room to be 'heard' explains the omission of some voices. The process of editing quotations should also be noted: the balance between interviewees being allowed to 'speak' as they had done in the original encounter and formal prose befitting an academic text was a fine one to strike. Mindful of Kvale's recollection of an occasion when he returned a draft chapter to an interviewee only to discover his interviewee's upset that his 'comments [had been] presented in [...] informal [and] unprofessional language' (Lapadat, 2000: 206) and his subsequent appraisal that 'the verbatim transcribed oral language may appear as incoherent and confused speech, even indicating a lower level of intellectual functioning' (1996: 172 quoted in *ibid.*), poor (grammatical) expression, overly repetitious phrases and 'murmurings' were edited out of quotations. Ellipses are used to pinpoint portions of text omitted to aid communication of the interviewee's message. In all cases, however, their desired meaning remains intact. Just as issues of selection pinpoint a politics of quotation highlighted here is a 'politics of punctuation'.

Finally, a note is demanded regarding the descriptors used to identify each voice. Questionnaires and interviews were given a unique code (in the case of the former 00001-00113, and the latter, 001-024). All quotations are given a descriptor comprising either the letter Q or I (indicating questionnaire or interview) followed by its code. This ensures anonymity while enabling the 'tracking' of questionnaire respondents or interviewees throughout the thesis, should the reader wish to do so. A table providing background information for questionnaire respondents

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[57] And, of course, this ethical responsibility is enshrined in the process of gaining 'ethics committee' approval for the work, successfully secured prior to its commencement. Questionnaires and interviews with Officers proved a relatively trouble-free inclusion to the research strategy; only the later use of participatory video with young people had to be actively negotiated with this committee.

and interviewees is included as APPENDIX 3. This cross-references the descriptors of those questionnaire respondents who also participated in subsequent interviews.

ETHNOGRAPHY

In both theory and practice there is considerable slippage between 'interviewing' and 'ethnography'. The almost inevitable crossover between the two approaches has already been highlighted in my account of observation in interviewees' 'homeplaces' (Cook and Crang, 1995: 38-40). This fluidity notwithstanding, the final research phase was a dedicated period of ethnography in one BB Company during its 2004-2005 session. Broadly defined as 'the writing of culture' (Clifford and Marcus, 1986), the 'doing' of ethnography can be embarked upon from a diverse range of epistemological standpoints, variously labelled; 'analytic' (Lofland, 2002), 'performance' (Alexander, 2005), 'public' (Tedlock, 2005), 'critical realist' (Porter, 2002), 'organisational' (Bell, 1999), alongside the recent emergence of 'autoethnography' (Butz and Besio, 2004; Besio and Butz, 2004; Jones, 2005). Common to each, however, is the use of the 'ethnographer' themselves as a 'research tool' (Evans, 1988). Insight comes through immersion (Cook and Crang, 1995: 21) in the circuits of the community under study (however defined); i.e., by allowing the events, rhythms, routines, and power relations present to flow over, through, and around them. Yet, this positioning is far from passive. Indeed, attentiveness to ethnographers' own subjectivities eschews an understanding of the field as a site elsewhere merely entered, navigated and exited, but one which is actively brought into being as an unstable 'space of betweenness' (Katz, 1994: 67). As England reminds us; 'we do not conduct fieldwork on the unmediated world of the researched, but on the world *between* ourselves and the researched' (England, 1994: 86 quoted in Butz and Besio, 2004: 358; original emphasis). Although remaining cognisant of recent critiques centred upon the overly visual nature of geography as a discipline (see Kindon, 2003: 142 for a brief overview, and below), it is observation that becomes the researcher's primary tool in this process of immersion (though see Oerton's use of her researching body as a 'touch tool' [2004: 307]). We must develop 'practices of looking' (Kindon, 2003) which allow us to gain insight into the 'beings' and 'doings' of the community under study and the performed actions and practices of talk which sustain its unique 'culture'. Yet, the recognition that ethnographers cannot write 'postcards from nowhere'[58] – i.e., that they are situated within and continually create the field as an interstitial space – the researcher cannot simply observe but must become an active participant in the community under study. Thus, from the suite of ethnographic approaches available (Tesch, 1990 cited in Cook and Crang, 1995: 20) it was *participant* observation that was adopted (Jorgensen, 1989). Foregoing discussion almost forces such an approach. Frankenberg has noted that 'the central paradox of the participant observation method is to seek information by not asking questions' (1963 quoted in Evans, 1988: 209). As Evans

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[58] This phrase is borrowed from the title of Grant Campbell's debut album. I find it appealing as it clearly chimes with Haraway's understanding of the 'nowhere' of the impossible 'god-trick': 'vision from everywhere and nowhere' (1991: 191).

continues; 'While this may well give researchers answers to questions that they may not have considered asking, it is at the same time a step towards complete observation and the method suffers by the loss of its essential impetus; participation' (Evans, 1988: 209). Thus, despite participant observation occupying a place in 'a continuum extending to either extreme, from total observer to total participant' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 93 cited in Evans, 1988: 207; see also Gold, 1958) 'both extremes do not reflect the spirit of the method of participant observation, and each leads to problems of objectivity on the part of the researcher' (Evans, 1988: 207). In reality, then, a balance is struck between participation and observation, and this balancing point constantly shifts through the period of ethnography through your own or others' actions (see also INTRODUCTION).

In thinking through the *practice* of participant observation, Goffman's discussion in a posthumously published lecture is particularly useful. Here he notes that participant observation is a method of;

> getting data [...] by subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation, or whatever. So that you are close to them while they are responding to what life does to them. I feel that the way this is done is not, of course, just to listen to what they talk about, but to pick up on their minor grunts and groans as they respond to their situation. When you do that [...], the standard technique is to try to subject yourself [...] to their life circumstances [...] and you try to accept all of the desirable and undesirable things that are a feature of their life. That 'tunes your body up' and with your 'tuned up' body [...] you are in a position to note their gestural, visual, bodily response to what is going on around them and you're empathetic enough – because you have been taking the same crap they've been taking – to sense what it is that they're responding to. To me, that's the core of observation. [...] You're artificially forcing yourself to be tuned into something that you then pick up as a *witness – not as an interviewer, not as a listener, but as a witness* to how they react to what gets done to and around them. [...] It's a *deep familiarity* that is the rationale – that plus getting material on a tissue of events – that gives the justification and the warrant for such an apparently 'loose' thing as fieldwork (Goffman, 1989: 125-126, 130 quoted in Lofland, 2002: 150; original emphasis).

Goffman's account is appealing on (at least) three grounds. First, he highlights the necessity of *subjecting yourself* to the 'messiness of daily life', acknowledging 'the ways that messiness is an integral part of research' (Besio and Butz, 2004: 433). Second, his conceptualisation of *tuning your body up* places centre-stage the importance of the 'incorporation [of] the ethnographic self' (Bell, 1999: 23) within 'the field' and the navigation of associated issues of 'impression management' (Evans, 1988: 207). Thirdly, and most crucially, his notion of *witness* not only necessitates the adoption of an *active* position within the community – one must transform oneself to engage with 'the field' – but it is also a profoundly ethical and, moreover, ekphratic stance,

acknowledging that when exit has been negotiated (Coffey, 1999) one must responsibly *bear witness* to that observed: 'translate and transmute experience to text and text to experience' (Jones, 2005: 769). Thus, to pick up on the latter manoeuvre, Goffman's approach recognises that;

> [S]imply observing is disorganising. Observation without an attentional frame is anomie. It means not knowing how to look, what to select, what to ask, what to follow up, and so on. It means not knowing what part to play in the dialogue (Smith, 2002: 23).

One can never, then, leave behind your life experience nor your academic self before navigating 'the field': you bring both biographical and theoretical 'baggage' (Evans, 2000: 277) which organises your observation. As Gould claims;

> No faith can be more misleading than an unquestioned personal conviction that *the apparent testimony of one's eyes* must provide a purely objective account, scarcely requiring any validation beyond the claim itself. Utterly unbiased observation must rank as the primary myth and shibboleth of science, for we can only see what fits into our mental space, and all description includes interpretation as well as sensory reporting (Gould, 1998: 72 quoted in Angrosino, 2005: 743; emphasis added).

The adoption of participant observation in this research emerged from a desire to attempt to solve (as far as possible) what Smith has termed 'the grand puzzle of institutions[:] how they generalise across many local settings of people's activities' (2002: 25). She expands; 'Institutions are themselves generalisers and their ethnography looks for the ways in which the particularities of people's everyday doings bring into being the distinctively generalised forms of the institutional order' (Smith, 2002: 25). Thus, my rationale in conducting this period of ethnography was to gain a *deep familiarity* with *this* BB Company, to understand it in its minutiae: the technologies which brought into being a disciplinary space; the discourses translated into action by Officers; the poaching of power and seizure of space by Boys. In short, my 'attentional frame' was the theoretical understandings explicated in the first foundational chapter of this couplet (see CHAPTER ONE). These are the texts that I *carried* into the experience and, viewed through them, I *used* the experience to unpack the unfolding of The BB as an institution across space. I sought to identify the micro-geographies of practice (themselves reflecting yet refracting the institutional discourse) which secure its accomplishment here, and to tease out, through reference to interview and questionnaire findings, 'common threads' potentially generalised in other locals elsewhere bringing into being The BB as a national institution.

Turning from the rationale behind the adoption of an ethnographic approach, the 'doing' of this period of participant observation demands consideration. The structure of the remainder of this section follows Sanjek's (1990) three 'canons of ethnographic validity', i.e., those 'reporting practices' that readers use to '[assess] the degree to which the facts are consistent with the analysis offered of them' (Lofland, 2002: 154): i) 'theoretical candor'; ii) 'the ethnographer's path'; and, iii)

'fieldnote evidence'. The first 'refers to providing a chronological, intellectual, and personal account of how the analysis evolved' (*ibid.*) incorporating 'candid exposition of when and why' (Sanjek, 1990: 396 quoted in *ibid.*). The second provides a 'description of the path connecting the ethnographer and informants' (Sanjek, 1990: 400 quoted in Lofland, 2002: 154) reporting 'with whom the researchers interacted, in what sequence, and how' (Lofland, 2002: 154). The third focuses on providing an account of the 'procedures of assembling and processing data' and the 'practices of presenting data in the report' (Lofland, 2002: 154). Each of these three 'canons' will be addressed in turn.

'THEORETICAL CANDOR'

Taking seriously Punch's (1994: 86) assertion that 'often we are left in the dark as to the personal and intellectual path that led researchers to drop one line of inquiry to pursue another topic' (quoted in Evans, 2000: 273; though see England, 1994), it should be noted that the ethnographic work ultimately conducted was not that initially proposed. Originally, four Companies were to be selected for study for half a session each (c. four to five months). As the concerns of the thesis altered following analysis of earlier findings, allied with a growing appreciation that I had underestimated the volume of data such methods could generate, this approach was curtailed to two, and later cut back further to one, primarily due to the fact that as most Companies met on a Friday evening[59] I was already committed to my Company that night. The fact that I was a BB Officer – thrown into sharp relief with this decision that subsequently shaped the project – also spotlights that I already had access to a Company which could conceivably have been used as a research setting. While carefully considered, the decision not to conduct ethnographic study in my Company was made principally on the grounds that I was already implicated in its disciplinary networks. Although having no desire to fetishise objectivity and always keenly aware that observation would necessarily move towards participation as the period of involvement progressed, I nevertheless wished to begin the fieldwork as 'an alien in the environment' (Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002: 147). My task here, and indeed throughout this research, was to make what was familiar to me unfamiliar. Though I, as a BB Officer, am never truly 'alien' in any BB environment in the way an 'outsider' would be (see INTRODUCTION), I perceived there to be a danger that had I conducted research in my own Company I may have been able to see but not observe (Lofland, 2002: 162)[60]. Moreover, and more importantly, I had misgivings about transforming already existing relationships – particularly with the boys and young men in my Company towards whom I have a duty of care – into those of a researcher-researched relationship. In doing so would I lose their trust and consequently distort irrevocably a relationship that they potentially consider valuable and one on which they could depend as they steer their course through their teenage years? And,

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[59] Given that my primary focus was the Company Section, my own findings from the questionnaire survey suggested that Friday was the most popular evening for such meetings (see APPENDIX 5, Graph 10).
[60] Lofland notes; 'As Holmes said to Watson about his failure to perceive an 'obvious' architectural feature of 221 Baker Street, 'you see but you do not observe" (Lofland, 2002: 162). Conducting research in my own Company may have been standing too close to see the 'obvious'.

this is to say nothing of how an exit from 'the field' could be achieved. The decision was therefore a personal one made after carefully considering the potential impact that the research could have on *all* those involved, including myself. Entering another Company offered the opportunity to negotiate access, to be introduced and forge new relationships, to craft an 'ethnographic self', and importantly, to secure a successful exit; in short, to navigate a path through the field as 'an ethnographer' rather than as 'Richard' or 'Richey'.

'ETHNOGRAPHER'S PATH'

ACCESS

Five Companies expressed interest in the period of ethnography via the questionnaire (see APPENDIX 1). That not all Companies wishing to participate could do so (not least due to the aforementioned paring back of this research phase) necessitated the formulation of selection criteria. Commitments to my own Company mitigated against the choice of a Company meeting on a Friday night. This reduced the number of Companies from five to two, one located in the Borders and one nearer Glasgow. Logistical concerns enabled the final selection to be made. Dependence upon public transport, particularly at the Company's close around 10:00pm, ruled out the Borders Company and so selection was relatively trouble-free. Access to the selected Company proved unproblematic in more 'social' respects as well, undoubtedly due to the fact they themselves volunteered to participate. The Company's Captain had previously been interviewed and was approached a second time with this proposed work. The request was met with enthusiasm and arrangements were made to begin the period of participant observation on the first evening of the Company's 2004-2005 session: Thursday 2nd September.

INTRODUCTIONS

Negotiating access is only the first step one must also construct the 'ethnographic self' for use when travelling through 'the field'. From the moment one embarks upon the fieldwork journey that 'self' is subjected to – and shaped by – the understandings others hold of you. And here, how I was introduced into the research setting serves as a forceful caveat to the discussion of the crafting of my ethnographic self in the next sub-section.

Although using the episode she recalls to make a different point, Bell's research in the chemical industry highlights the importance of introductions to the subsequent outplaying of the ethnographic encounter;

> At the team briefing, I was introduced by the manager as one of the 'experts', 'here to help to solve the problem' of how to restructure the department, based on my neutrality, experience of what goes on in other companies and academic knowledge (Bell, 1999: 25).

There was a clear disjuncture between her aims and purposes and how she was then quickly appropriated for other ends. How one is introduced will therefore affect other people's

understandings of 'why you are here' and 'what you are here to do'. It has the ability to close down or open up lines of enquiry; quell suspicion or raise fears. While it is desirable for an ethnographer to introduce *themselves* into the research setting, this is not always possible, particularly in settings where clear structures of authority are established. It is, then, incumbent upon the ethnographer to ensure the 'gatekeeper' with whom they have negotiated access to the field is fully aware of the purposes of the research (or the purposes as far as you wish to reveal them) so that they can communicate this clearly to other participants. In this case two audiences required an introduction: boys, and their parents/guardians. With regard to the former, noteworthy is the fact that during 'Anchor Boys' my presence was not made an issue. At 'Company Section' later in the evening, before Bible Class began, I was introduced to the boys. Like Bell's, my introduction did not entirely match my aims. As I then recorded in my field diary;

> [The Captain] asks my last name and then tells the boys there is a new face (i.e., me) and that I am Mr. Kyle and doing work at the University and that I have chosen to 'inspect and look at this Company'. I'm a little uneasy with the wording, but I am in his hands. He then asks them to just act normally; it's a normal BB Company I came to see. Another Officer laughs and I share the joke with him. He also asks them to co-operate with me and if I ask them anything just to tell the truth. He then says that I've been in The BB so know all the tricks they get up to (neglecting to mention, of course, that if I did my own Company would be a model of efficiency; I can assure you, it is not!) (Field Diary, 02/09/04).

The following week, after Bible class, I was provided with an opportunity to explain what the research was about;

> I am asked to tell the boys what I am doing. I explain that the research was to find out what they thought about The BB and its importance, or otherwise, in their lives, particularly when set against the other activities they take part in during the week. I explain the activities they will take part in – the diaries, sketch maps, questionnaires, and filming – and explain that this work will be written into a report. I then asked if they were happy to participate; they replied yes. An opportunity to ask questions then followed. The first was an enquiry as to whether the report was a 'big book' to which I replied yes, explaining that it was called a thesis and is just like a big book. The second question was a little more obscure, one boy started asking about people who didn't believe in God. Momentarily confused, and after a quick glance between [the Captain] and I, I realised he had confused 'a thesis' with 'atheist' and quickly cleared up the confusion. The final question was almost predictable: when does filming start? (Field Diary, 09/09/04).

Information sheets had been prepared for boys, parents, and the Captain (see APPENDIX 4) but were not distributed until the following week after the Captain had requested references and received favourable responses from supervisors in the Department. It transpired, then, that to the boys' parents/guardians I was introduced by way of a newsletter distributed with my information sheets and consent forms on Thursday 16th September. Its fourth heading intimated;

Student Thesis

The Company has been contacted by Richard Kyle, a student with Glasgow University who is in the progress of carrying out a PhD thesis. Richard has requested that he visits the Company over the next few weeks to firstly observe the workings of the Company and then participate in it. I have met with Richard at my home and have taken up references with the university. Richard is an established BB officer in a Glasgow Company, he has undertaken Child Protection Training and is a respected member of the BB representing it at national level. As with all BB officers at no time will Richard be on a one to one situation with any of the boys. He has given me some further material for your consideration and I would ask that should you have any concerns regarding this please speak to me in the first instance. It goes without saying that should you not wish your son to be included in the project then he will be under no pressure to do so.

Interestingly, the above represents not so much an introduction *to* the researcher but an endorsement *of* him and his work. Throughout, the Captain was attempting to allay any fears parents/guardians might have about a stranger entering the Company: that the research(er) will not unsettle the safety of the Company or expose the boys to danger was the underlying message. My trustworthiness was flagged up through reference to having met the Captain at his home, to references having been 'taken up' with the University, and to my being a practicing BB Officer trained in child protection (the central core of which was reinforced, not only with application to myself, but also 'all BB officers', actively recreating the space of the Company as one of safety). Ultimately, securing parents' consent to allow their boys to participate in this research depended upon lines of trust flowing through the Captain (note: it was him that they should contact in the first instance). It was parents' trust in him and the fact that he endorsed me which ingratiated me to them and secured their consent. This not only further highlights the importance of gatekeepers, especially in work involving young people to whom access is strictly, and rightly, controlled through legislation, but also pinpoints the fact that through the gatekeepers' introduction of the researcher, the 'ethnographic self' is negotiated from the first: there are limits set on how you can craft yourself when you have been at least partly crafted already.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SELF

In both the Captain's verbal introduction to the boys and that provided to their parents via the newsletter, my status as an 'insider' was played up in order to secure either co-operation or consent. This I had little control over. In other ways, however, I actively played down this role as a BB Officer, making myself stand apart as an outsider. As alluded to earlier, dress was productively deployed here. Although as a BB Officer I had legitimate access to uniform, not wearing uniform had the effect of marking me as different, and importantly, as outside the disciplinary matrix[61]. This was compounded through my oft subtle breaches of the spatial rules governing the periods of formality that bookended the evening. Although at the start I stood at the

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[61] Although, it should be noted that I was frequently drawn into these networks (see CHAPTER SEVEN).

back of the hall beside another Officer, at the meeting's close I positioned myself at the front of the hall and to one side. Standing apart from the Company – out of place for an adult and Officer in this setting – further reinforced the fact that I was not part of this Company, but an outsider looking in. Initially, this may have made others feel 'ill at ease' but this was, partly the point of doing so; making my 'outsider' status (albeit with the qualification made above) visible. It should be remembered, though, that both of these devices are time barred: it is not long before being out of place becomes being in *my* place and being out of uniform becomes expected. Nevertheless, both proved useful, allowing me enter the field as a stranger and ensuring estrangement continued for at least the first few weeks, during which time the anticipated shift from observation to participation occurred (see CHAPTER SEVEN).

EXIT

Although Gordon and Lahelma (2003: 27) note that '[e]thnographers frequently discuss the difficulties of leaving the field', my exit was secured with relative ease, not least because this research phase spanned one complete session beginning in September and culminating with a 'display' in June (see CHAPTER SEVEN). This display proved an ideal point at which to exit the field; after this evening it was clear to both boys and Officers that I would not return[62]. In saying this, however, I am still connected to the field. A year later I was invited to attend the Company's '76th Annual Display' as its 'Inspecting Officer'[63]. Thus, while an inevitably partial exit had been successfully achieved, a tie remains to the field, perhaps revealing that, if 'the field' indeed exists relationally between the researcher and the researched, it can never truly be left behind; through an invitation or phone call, email or membership of a Christmas card list, it is (re)created anew[64].

'FIELD NOTE EVIDENCE'

FIELD DIARY

Already woven through these methodological reflections, a field diary proved the principal means through which data was generated as the ethnography proceeded, particularly in its more observational phase; and here it is crucial to acknowledge Evans' assertion that 'most data are retrieved on reflection as soon after the situation as possible, and thus are very dependent upon

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[62] This 'exit' was reinforced through the (unplanned) exchange of gifts. Having returned from Singapore the previous day where I had been attending a summit celebrating The BB in Singapore's 75th Anniversary, I brought back embroidered patches for each of the Company Section Boys as this display marked the same occasion for this Company. At the display I was also presented with a gold medal bearing the profile of The BB's Founder with their thanks for my help through the year. By the session's close, then, my role was not solely considered to be that of a passive observer but also an active participant.

[63] Sadly, this invitation had to be declined due to the date coinciding with my own Company's annual display.

[64] These remarks hint towards the personal friendships forged over this period in the field. During this time I got along well with the staff and boys, and particularly the Captain. Although this has not influenced my writing through of this period of the research it would be wrong not to at least note that I am now a little uneasy with my representation of the Captain in CHAPTER EIGHT as it does not fully 'capture' the man I came to know not only as a BB Captain but as a friend. Moreover, I would be lying if I said I was not sad to leave the Company; over the session I had come to take an interest in the lives of the boys of the Company. Thus, when attending a Church of Scotland event a year later I met some of them again I was pleased to hear how they, and the Officers accompanying them, were getting on. This outcome is not considered unique to this research project. Rather, it is potential result of all social scientific work; forging friendships is a perfectly natural human eventuality when one spends time living and working with others.

memory' (1988: 209). This was indeed the case throughout this research. I did not tote a field notebook during the evening itself, but instead used the train journey home to note hastily my initial impressions of the evening. These notes were expanded further on my return home and subsequently typed to ensure legibility and ease of analysis at a later date. The practice of writing these notes resembled a 'minute-by-minute' account of the evening as I mentally replayed – and often visualised – the events. Margin notes were frequently added as I recalled further happenings after I had 'played' past that part of the night.

Shifting from this account of the 'assembly' of these notes to Sanjek's second concern, issues surrounding 'processing', a similar analysis strategy to that adopted in the treatment of interview material was deployed: analysis proceeded through continual re-reading. This was quite deliberately conducted months after the 'exit' from the field, allowing critical reflection on both the events themselves but also my place within their coming to pass and indeed, the manner in which I had reported them (see especially CHAPTER EIGHT). In all research one must trust your 'younger self'; here I could be openly critical of him.

The keeping of a field diary was not, however, the sole means through which data was generated during this ten-month period; I also experimented with 'participatory' methods to uncover both the place of The BB in these boys' everyday geographies and the micro-geographies of practice which secured the Company's real-time accomplishment. Two methods in particular were used to examine these twin concerns: respectively; i) participatory diagramming; and, ii) participatory video.

'PARTICPATORY' DIAGRAMMING

Emerging from the field of development studies via approaches such as Participatory Appraisal (PA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), or Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) (Pain and Francis, 2003: 47) several recent interventions (Kesby, 2000; Pain and Francis, 2003; Kesby et al, 2005) have served to widen engagement with participatory research from this sub-field to application in other research contexts, particularly in developed world settings. The foothold that participatory approaches are rapidly gaining will undoubtedly be secured further by their inclusion in introductory 'methods texts' aimed at an undergraduate audience (Kesby et al, 2005). My own use of this approach was born of a margin note made on Kesby's (2000) paper in April 2004. For Kesby, participatory approaches offer a path for academics to embrace the 'turn to praxis' while ensuring the publication of 'audit worthy product' (2000: 424) in an increasingly RAE-driven academy. Participatory diagramming is not, then, just *another* addition to the suite of qualitative methods, but, instead, forms an integral part of an *approach* placing participants at the heart of their change agenda. The 'gold standard' of participatory approaches (Kesby et al, 2005: 162) therefore involves participants in all phases of the research process; from the formulation of research questions, through its design and implementation, to the presentation of findings such that 'the final textual account incorporates participants' analysis, recognises the multiplicity of accounts

and builds a narrative 'between' the perspectives of participants and those of researchers' (Kesby, 2000: 432). It is an approach which chimes with reflexive ethnographic practice and is more than compatible with a formulation of the field itself as a 'space of betweenness' (see above).

In saying this, however, my own use of participatory diagramming fell far short of this gold standard. Here I borrowed more from the participatory methods 'toolkit' than embrace participation as an approach. Others working in this sphere share similar stumblings (Kesby *et al*, 2005: 162). Moreover, reflecting specifically on their research with young people, Pole *et al* (1999: 52) insightfully note; 'to expect merely the deployment of so called participative methods (tools) to yield a methodology which captures and celebrates childhood and children's agency is to fail to recognise the constraints under which the research process yields knowledge about aspects of social life'. They continue, offering particularly pertinent comment on the limits of participation (see also David, 2002) with children and young people;

> [I]t is important for [the] sociologist of childhood to contextualise agency, to recognise its limits and to acknowledge the constraints under which it is realised (*ibid.*).

This is noted, not to provide an apologia for a failure to realise the true potential of participatory approaches, but to acknowledge that the participatory diagramming conducted here – when viewed critically – still falls 'within a conventional 'extractive' research methodology' (Kesby, 2000: 427). As such it is 'shallow' participatory research (*ibid.*), and hence the adoption of Kesby *et al*'s device of presenting the term within scare quotes (2000: 145).

Experimentation with participatory methods formed part of a research process that began with the rather conventional distribution of diaries to Company Section boys to catalogue day-by-day the places they visited over the course of a week and the feelings associated with them[65] (Barker and Weller, 2003). This exercise provided the prompt for their participation in a group diagramming task the next week. Boys were presented with an A1 sheet of paper and marker pens, and asked to note the places they frequented in an average week. The sheet was soon filled with words, phrases, and pictorial representations of the places they went, the activities they engaged in and, after a further prompt, the feelings – in admittedly abrupt terms of likes and dislikes – they associated with them. This method, privileging non-verbal forms of expression, encouraged

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[65] Diaries were distributed to boys on the evening of Thursday 28th October 2004 to help them to start thinking about how The BB slotted into their everyday lives and geographies. They were encouraged to use diaries to jot down the places where they went and activities in which they participated during the week, and to bring it back the following week as this would serve as an introduction to that week's activity. Four of the twelve diaries distributed were returned. A statement was glued onto the inside cover of each jotter to remind boys of what I had said when distributing their diaries. It read as follows: 'One thing I'm interested in as part of my research is how the BB fits into your everyday lives. During the week it's one of the many places you spend time. But, where do you spend the rest of the week? What do you do there? What do you think about these places? And how do they compare with the BB? Next week – as a group – we'll think about trying to answer these questions by mapping all the places we go and thinking about what they mean to us, what we like or dislike about each, and how they all fit together. But, to help us to do this, during the next week it would be great if each day you could keep a diary of what you get up to; at school, at home, at other clubs, out with friends, things you do with your family. Maybe you could think about: What you feel about these other places? What you do there? What you like or dislike about those places? And how similar or different they are to the BB? Hopefully we'll have fun chatting about this. This is the fun part of my research where I hand my work over to you – it's your opportunity to let me know what you really think! The BB is, after all, your organisation so it's very important that because I'm studying the BB you get the chance to have a say in my work!'

quieter members of the group to air their views. Moreover, the positioning of the sheet on a table accessible from all sides allowed all 'voices' to be heard or, rather, all pens to scribble (almost) simultaneously. Throughout the task I acted as an eavesdropper, standing back to overhear the conversations which led to the production of their collective 'map'. While Kesby *et al* stress that 'making time to 'interview the diagram' is crucial' (2005: 149), time constraints restricted this 'interviewing' phase. Each of the research activities had to be conducted in a period of about 20 minutes after the formal opening of the evening at 8:00pm and before physical activities at (around) 8:35pm. Thus, when it appeared sketching had ceased, I spent a few minutes, certainly no more than five, asking boys about their map. Here, however, eavesdropping proved more profitable because (as anticipated) a couple of 'louder' voices silenced some of the quieter members of the group. Thus, while not ideal, my own adoption of the method clearly adds weight to Kesby *et al*'s assertion that '[w]hatever the context, participatory diagramming almost always involves adapting to circumstances and the group taking part' (2005: 156).

The next phase of this work reverted back to a more conventional approach. After compiling a list of the places visited by consulting both the 'map' and diaries, a questionnaire was created and distributed to boys the following week. This contained 11 statements with which boys could either agree or disagree for each of the 14 places 'mapped' or distilled from diaries. These questionnaires attempted to arrive at an understanding of the feelings that boys associated with the various places (see CHAPTER EIGHT). Thus, via diaries, diagramming and questionnaires, a crucial research aim surrounding the situation of The BB within wider circuits of these boys' everyday social geographies was addressed. Yet, a second concern driving the ethnographic work was an interest in the micro-geographies of practice and performance which secured the accomplishment of the Company itself. Much of the insight informing these findings undoubtedly emerged during the initial few weeks of observation 'as a stranger' and through continued – critical – practices of looking throughout the period in the field. However, as an attempt to fold the role of the observer back on itself – i.e., unsettle who is observing who – participatory video was also deployed.

PARTICIPATORY VIDEO

A particularly vocal advocate calling for academic geographers to adopt participatory research approaches (see above), Kindon has done much to champion the use of participatory video as an integral part of this endeavour (see 2000, 2003). For Kindon, participatory video 'has considerable transformative potential, not only in terms of the action it may generate, but also in terms of the structure of the relationship between the researcher and research participants' (2003: 143). Although emerging out of community development practice in developing world settings where, through the inclusive and empowering process of participatory video, participants can effect change, regardless of context it has the potential both to destabilise researcher/researched relationships and to democratise the research process (Kindon, 2003: 146), crucially, allowing researchers to develop practices of 'looking nearby' rather than 'looking at' those *with whom* they

do research (*ibid.*: 149)[66]. Drawing out this potential, however, has involved a direct challenge to recent critiques of 'the gaze' which have led to a 'disenchantment with visual approaches' (Crang, 2003: 500) in the discipline. And this disenchantment stems directly from the visual nature *of* Geography. Kindon's reformulation of 'the gaze' takes Rose's (1993) observation 'that looking has been conflated with knowing' as its starting point (Kindon, 2003: 142; see also Rose, 1997; Gregory, 1994). Echoing Rose she contends that 'such a conflation has been the product of the discipline's systematic erasure of the geographer's gaze within the research problematics' (*ibid.*). This has led to the gaze being variously 'coded' as 'masculinist', 'colonialist', 'adultist' (*ibid.*) and, above all (!), 'objectifying' (Crang, 2003: 500), resulting in the production of 'voyeuristic, distanced and disembodied claims to knowledge' (Kindon, 2003: 142). Kindon attempts, then, to dismantle the gaze and 'destabilise [these] designations' (*ibid.*: 143) by recasting it as a, particularly feminist, practice of looking 'which actively works to engage with and challenge conventional relationships of power associated with the gaze in geographic research, and results in more equitable outcomes and/or transformation for research participants' (*ibid.*).

Despite such critiques of the visual, visual approaches have not been eclipsed entirely. For example, Holliday (2000) used video diaries as a means to generate data; Nicholson (2001) used home movies as an artefact to explore childhood experience and memory; and, Brannen (2002) deployed video as a medium for the dissemination of (shared) research findings (see also Pink (2001: 77-93) for a detailed overview of the use of video in ethnography). Far more frequently, though, geographers have employed self-directed photography in their research endeavours. Ross (2002) usefully provides an overview of the corpus of work in this field focussing specifically on its use with children and young people (see, e.g., Ewald, 1985, 1992, 1996; Aitken and Wingate, 1993; Worth, 1964; Chalfen, 1974, 1987; Buss, 1994; Young and Barrett, 2001; James and Cunningham, 1999 cited in Ross, 2002) before reflecting on her own practice in her doctoral research where she asked children to photograph places they liked and disliked in addition to their journey to school;

> The importance of photography was that it allowed children to record aspects of their environment in their everyday setting, aspects which may have been lost solely basing the research in the school setting. This is an action research method that allows children to document their environment as they see it. Children were free to record what they wished within the remit provided, unhindered by adult intervention, giving children a degree of control within the research process.

Self-directed photography hands research over to participants, placing them in control and thus democratising the research process. It is an approach recognising young people's agency and, thankfully, moves away from studies *on* young people towards research *with* young people or,

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[66] Albeit, this process of democratisation and destabilisation – particularly when deploying 'children centred methods' to do so – occurs within negotiated limits (see Barker and Weller, 2003).

indeed, through their 'empowerment'[67] as peer-researchers *by* young people (Alderson, 2001). The research *process* enables young people to say something about their social world while *themselves* reflecting upon their place within it, an act perhaps filled with transformative potential. While the researcher remains, to a certain extent, director of the resulting images, guiding their practice of looking within a pre-selected attentional frame, in deciding what to shoot as a still image they become editors, choosing how their world will be re-presented to others (and, also controlling how much of that world will be revealed and how much 'kept for themselves'). It is through later dialogue *between* the researcher and participants that a shared understanding of these representations emerges. Turning again to Ross's (2002) practice;

> This gives precedence to the message attached to the photograph by the participant, rather than to the interpretation the researcher puts on the image presented. The important point to note is that what may be apparent to the researcher when analysing the content of the photographs, is not necessarily the image which is held by the photographer and may not be the one that was intended to be conveyed. The meaning of the photograph can be lost in the interpretation unless discussion with the participants takes place.

Mirroring this 'show-and-tell' structure, my use of participatory video sought to; i) democratise the research process by handing research over to the boys, allowing them to wrest some control back from the researcher; and, ii) through later discussion during playback of the video produced, construct a shared understanding of the performance in which boys and Officers, camera operator and myself, all played a part. Notwithstanding the allure that the use of a video camera undoubtedly had for this age-group of boys (evidenced partly by the third question posed during the initial introduction to the research: 'when does filming start?'), the use of participatory video – over self-directed photography – stemmed from research concerns surrounding the performances that sustain (yet disrupt) the performative (re)creation of their BB Company, i.e., 'the stylised repetitions of communicative acts, linguistic and corporeal, that are socially validated and discursively established in the moment of the performance' (Alexander, 2005: 414 after Butler, 1990a, 1990b, 1993). The medium permitted the 'capture' of a continuous sequence of the now rather than a series of snapshots ruptured by lengthier pauses for considered reflection on issues of representation.

Thus, for the duration of one evening (Thursday 9th December 2004), from the beginning of Bible Class at 7:45pm to the formal close of the evening at 9:45pm, boys used a digital video camera to record the meeting night, working to the (admittedly broad) direction to film what they

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[67] 'Empowerment' appears here in scare quotes because I am a little uneasy with the use of this term. The somewhat unsettling underlying assumption is that power can be given, in this case *from* adults *to* children, rather than always circulating relationally between individuals. This understanding does little to recognise the agency of the latter and, by extension, merely perpetuates an erroneous position which suggests the latter are merely *becoming* the former: children and young people are social becomings rather than social beings. 'Empowerment' thus requires (re)theorisation within a Foucauldian conceptualisation of power/knowledge.

would wish others to see of a 'typical' Company night[68]. In doing so they 'captured on camera' the routines and rhythms, disruptions and disciplinary practices which brought their Company into being.

Curiously, however, the use of participatory video also served to address Pole *et al*'s aforementioned assertion that 'it is important [...] to contextualise agency, to recognise its limits and to acknowledge the constraints under which it is realised' (1999: 52). It was only by first recognising, and second celebrating, these boys' agency through the democratisation of the research process that the limits imposed on their agency were thrown sharply into focus. Despite the boys being the directors throughout the evening, the Captain became the producer, subtly editing their representation through the appropriation of the technology introduced. Thus, insightfully, the structures that constrained boys' agency – in this place – were spotlighted specifically through the effect that these had on their agency while engaged in the process of doing research. In a way, the use of this method in *this* BB Company shed light on the fundamental 'workings' of The BB as a disciplinary space and, especially, its negotiated realisation. It is this transformation of a visual technology to one through which discipline itself is mediated that provides the focus for CHAPTER EIGHT.

WRITING PRACTICES

Returning a final time to Sanjek's 'canons', and specifically his desire for ethnographers to detail the 'practices of presenting data in the report' (Lofland, 2002: 154), several commentators reflect upon the difficulties of 'translat[ing] experience to text' (Jones, 2005: 769). Clifford, for example, passionately questions;

> How is the unruly experience transformed into an authoritative written account? How, precisely is a garrulous, overdetermined cross-cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross-purposes circumscribed as an adequate version of a more or less discrete 'other world' composed by an individual author? (1988: 25 quoted in Besio and Butz, 2004: 433).

And, yet, this *is* precisely the task of the ethnographer, and, moreover, the source of their 'power'; '[t]he ethnographer's power is to take what people have to say and to reassemble it to appear in quite a different setting in a different language and with interests and purposes that are not theirs' (Smith, 2002: 20). In part, the turn towards reflexivity and a relational conceptualisation of the field prompts critical reflection on these issues. If 'the field' is conceived as a 'space of betweenness', then 'ethnographies are documents that pose questions at the margins between two cultures. They necessarily decode one culture while re-coding it for another' (Van Maanen, 1988: 4 quoted in Alexander, 2005: 418). The researcher serves as a conduit, negotiating shared understandings that emerge through dialogue. As Angrosino notes;

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[68] Although only one boy operated the camera at a time, three individuals operated the camera over the course of the evening.

There is said to be a *dialogue* between researchers and those whose cultures/societies are to be described. 'Dialogue' in this sense does not mean a conversation between two parties; in practice, it often consists of multiple, even contradictory voices (2005: 731; original emphasis).

Ideally, ethnographies are polyvocal; 'the result of ethnographic research 'is never reducible to a form of knowledge that can packaged in the monologic voice of the ethnographer" (Marcus, 1997: 92 quoted in *ibid.*). While falling short of this 'ideal' (my voice booms loudest), boys and their Officers are not silenced. The writing strategy adopted – a warts-and-all 'day-in-the-life' account (Evans, 2000) – attempts 'as Denzin (1989: 83) puts it, to create 'verisimilitude: that is truthlike statements that produce for the readers the feeling that they have experienced, or could experience, the events being described' (Evans, 2000: 280). CHAPTER SEVEN aims to (re)create this 'experience in text' such that readers can gain a 'deep familiarity' (Goffman, 1989) with the BB Company under study, while themselves viewing this experience through the text which precedes this ethnographic account. The reader's 'attentional frame' (Smith, 2002: 23) is hence the examination of MOTIVATIONS and explication of ACTIONS that have gone before which *together* provides an inevitably partial solution to the 'grand puzzle of [*this*] institution' (*ibid.*: 25).

SUMMARY

This chapter has, of necessity, been a sprint through the methods used to construct the data that informs the thesis's findings. In doing so, it has laid the methodological foundations for what follows. Crucially, however, it also represents an investment of the effort needed to ensure that these methods – ranging from the extensive to the intensive – are 'complementary' (Massey and Meegan, 1985: 169) within the confines of this research, working together to address its research problematics. In closing, it is worth restating that the concern noted at the outset of both the project and this chapter is now shared by this author. The use of a variety of methods, though working together as a grounded research process, has led to a rather formulaic thesis structure, mirroring as it does, the passage through these research phases in the order of their adoption. While a potential strength of this approach, signposted in the INTRODUCTION, is undoubtedly that a range of quite disparate (yet related) research problematics can be addressed, when 'written through' these chapters, and the concerns that they address, remain rather discrete. It is suggested that this is a direct product of the (perhaps too great) multiplicity of methods embraced in that each chapter derives its findings from data created using one, and at most, two (albeit appropriate) method(s). Data woven together differently – via curious juxtaposition or crystallisation (Richardson and St. Pierre, 2005: 963)[69] – may have revealed new insight; although as a parting comment it is

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[69] Richardson and St. Pierre embrace poststructural approaches to writing through what they term CAP (Critical Analytical Processes) ethnographies which attempt to deconstruct 'the traditional idea of 'validity" (2005: 963) intimately bound up with triangulation. They write; 'We do not triangulate; we crystallise. I propose that the central imaginary for 'validity' for postmodernist texts is not the triangle – a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, and are altered, but they are not amorphous. Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colours,

important to emphasise again that this text is a pause, and, moreover, a *pragmatic* pause, in a larger process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 40).

WAYPOINT

\>> VIGNETTE ONE builds upon these foundational chapters to provide a foundation for the theorisation of the spaces of The BB in outdoor settings. Through the presentation of an historical geography of The BB during The Great War, it argues that these spaces must be theorised not only as bounded but also embodied *institutional* spaces.

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\>> CHAPTER THREE starts to attempt to understand the motivations behind adults' voluntary service in The BB as Officers. It begins by using questionnaire data to sketch caricatures of these Officers and their companies before adding depth through the introduction of interview material and Officers' introspections on the deceptively simple question; 'Why?'

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patterns, and arrays casting off in different directions. What we see depends on our angle of repose – not triangulation but rather crystallisation. In CAP texts, we have moved from plane geometry to light theory, where light can be both waves and particles'.

A WOODEN HUT, HELL AND THE BOYS' BRIGADE AS GEOGRAPHIC ACCOMPLISHMENT

When I'm among a Blaze of Lights,
With tawdry music and cigars
And women dawdling through delights,
And officers in cocktail bars,
Sometimes I think of garden nights
And elm trees nodding at the stars.

I dream of a small firelit room
With yellow candles burning straight,
And glowing pictures in the gloom,
And kindly books that hold me late.
Of these things I choose to think
When I can never be alone:
Then someone says 'Another drink?'
And turns my living heart to stone.

Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967), 'When I'm among a Blaze of Lights' ([1917] 1961: 14).

Ta-ta Bella, A'll no' say goodbye
Although I'm leavin' Glesca wi' the H.L.I.

Highland Light Infantry (H.L.I.) marching song (quoted in Shaw, 1983: 37).

The Great War began for Britain on 4th August 1914 when war was declared on Germany. A few days later, Field Marshal Lord Kitchener became Minister of War (Middlebrook, 1984: 1). Taking a position contrary to popular opinion that famously suggested the war would be over by Christmas (*ibid.*: 5), Kitchener forecast a conflict lasting at least three years and calculated that a larger army was required. To this end, he proposed that he would build a 'New Army' (*ibid.*) from the civilian population to augment the professional full-time regulars and part-time territorials (*ibid.*: 1) that was the sum of the British Army at the time. Thus, a Bill sanctioning Kitchener's plan to raise half a million men forming 18 new divisions was promptly passed through Parliament

and by the end of the month Kitchener had made his appeal for the 'First Hundred Thousand' (*ibid.*: 5).

TWO DRAMAS...

DRAMA ONE: 'THE BOYS' BRIGADE BATTALION'

On 1st September 1914, just days after Kitchener's appeal, the Executive Committee of The BB's Glasgow Battalion telegraphed the War Office offering the services of companies of ex-members. A week later it was refused (Chalmers, 1930: 3). The War Office was only able to accept Battalions of 1,100 men, a target the Executive felt out of their reach (Shaw, 1983: 37). Two days after the initial message was sent, however, the Magistrates of Glasgow Corporation recommended:

> that steps be forthwith taken [...] for the raising of the necessary recruits to form at least two
> Battalions and that the expense of raising and equipping such battalions be borne by the Corporation
> out of the Common Good (quoted in Shaw, 1983: 37; Chalmers, 1930: 2).

In the end, three Battalions were raised, one by the City Tramways Department another by the Chamber of Commerce (see Simkins, 1988: 88-9) and a third by Glasgow Battalion (Middlebrook, 1984: 10). Lieutenant-Colonel David Laidlaw – Battalion President between 1890 and 1897, founder Captain of the 60th Glasgow Company and a retired Commanding Officer of the Lanarkshire Engineer Volunteers (Shaw, 1983: 31) – was, within a week of the Corporation's recommendation, appointed by the magistrates to command the latter. Captain W.D. Scott – Captain of the 5th Glasgow BB Company and newly honoured as Vice-President of Glasgow Battalion – was appointed its recruiting officer (*ibid.*: 38). 'The Boys' Brigade Battalion', as it was later to be known (*ibid.*), composed almost entirely of ex-members (*ibid.*; Springhall *et al*, 1983: 114; see also below), initially struggled to gain official recognition. Indeed, driven by a desire to 'be instantly up and doing at a crisis of history in which the country was menaced and great principles of humanity were at stake' (Chalmers, 1930: 3) the Executive threatened to offer the 'BB quota' (*ibid.*) to the Camerons – not traditionally a Glasgow regiment (Spinghall *et al*, 1983: 114; Middlebrook, 1984: 14) – in order to prompt the Corporation to '[fit] the wings of Mercury to the feet of Mars' (Chalmers, 1930: 4) and hasten its recruitment process (*ibid.*: 3). It was eventually adopted by the Highland Light Infantry (H.L.I.) and designated as the 16th Battalion of that regiment. The 'Tramways' and 'Commercials' were designated the 15th and 17th respectively (Shaw, 1983: 38; Middlebrook, 1984: 320). By the morning of the 1st July 1916 all three city Battalions formed part of the 32nd division (itself composed entirely of Kitchener's Men[70]) waiting

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[70] Part of the X Corps at the battle on the Somme, the 32nd Division was composed of the 14th Brigade (19th Lancs. Fusiliers [3rd Salford Pals]; 1st Dorsets; 2nd Manchesters; 15th H.L.I. [Glasgow Tramways]), 96th Brigade (16th Northumberland Fusiliers [Newcastle Commercials]; 2nd Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers; 15th Lancs. Fusiliers [1st Salford Pals]; 16th Lancs. Fusiliers [2nd Salford Pals]), 97th Brigade (11th Border [The Lonsdales]; 2nd King's Own Yorkshire

in the trenches on the Western Front preparing to advance on the division's objectives, the fortress of Thiepval and Mouquet Farm (Chalmers, 1930: 34). By the end of the day the 16th Battalion had been decimated five times over and its Commanding Officer Lieut.-Col. D. Laidlaw wounded: 534 men and 19 more officers were lost in the day's action on the Somme (*ibid.*: 38).

DRAMA TWO: THE BOYS' BRIGADE RECREATION HUT

Seven months after Kitchener's appeal for men, The BB Executive launched their own. As 'an opportunity of showing in a practical way their appreciation of the splendid services which such a vast number of their old Comrades are rendering their country and the cause of humanity and righteousness at the present time' (Anon., [1st March] 1915: 98) the Executive proposed to establish a BB Recreation Hut 'for the benefit of the troops generally and Old Boys of The Boys' Brigade in particular' (*ibid.*: 99) in co-operation with the YMCA. Estimating the cost of the Hut to be £500, an appeal for funds was launched through the pages of The BB's monthly[71] *Gazette* on 1st March 1915. By 16th April, £1,232 had been raised from about a seventh of all BB Companies[72] – all were expected (and reminded monthly) to contribute (Anon., [1st May] 1915: 130). The target met almost three times over, on 1st May the *Gazette* proudly reported that 'the scheme [had become] an accomplished fact' (*ibid.*); a BB Recreation Hut had been established at a base infantry camp (Peacock, 1915: 132) about four miles from Rouen (Anon., [1st May] 1915: 131) – an important stopping point for both troops arriving from home and those returning from the front (see Plate 3). Although military restrictions prevented the opening of a second hut on the continent at Havre (Anon., [1st September] 1915: 2) contributions to the appeal continued to rise. On 1st September 1915, £2,719 – over five times the original target – had been raised. This allowed the Executive to proceed with plans to open a Hut in Britain. Thus, and again in co-operation with the YMCA, a second Recreation Hut in Edinburgh was officially opened on 1st February 1916 (Anon., [1st February] 1916: 82; see Plate 4). Located adjacent to Princes Street (Anon., [1st January] 1916: 66) – the city's main thoroughfare – between, and within a few minutes of, the two railway stations[73] (Anon., [1st November] 1916: 33), the Hut provided reasonably priced accommodation and refreshment to the many soldiers and sailors who passed through the city and its stations on the way to and from France (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 108).

Light Infantry; 16th H.L.I. [Glasgow Boys' Brigade]; 17th H.L.I. [Glasgow Commercials]), Pioneers (17th Northumberland Fusiliers [Newcastle Railway Pals]) (Middlebrook, 1984: 320).

[71] At this time *The Boys' Brigade Gazette* was published on the first day of each month between September and June, the BB session.

[72] The Gazette of 1st May 1915 records that just over 200 companies had contributed by this date (Anon., [1st May] 1915; 130). At the close of the previous session (i.e., 31st May 1914) the Annual Report of The BB records 1,360 companies in operation (Wilson, 1914; see also Graph 1).

[73] Trains were met by staff from the Hut and troops encouraged to make use of the Hut before making their onward journey (*Gazette*, 1st November 1916: 33). Indeed, William Hudson recounting his experience of a night's service at the Hut in the *Gazette* a year after its opening details the instructions he was given before conducting this task: 'It is now time to meet the London Train. Mr. ——— goes with you and two boys in uniform. Here is a badge that will be your warrant. Don't be shy. Ask any men in khaki who seems to be all at sea if he wishes supper and bed. You'll do all right' (Hudson, 1917: 67). He did, picking up ten men that night yet, on occasion, 50 were 'recruited' for the Hut in this manner (*ibid.*).

At the same time as the initial call for funds was made, a call for staff was also issued:

An important feature of the scheme is the personnel of the Staff at the Hut. It is hoped that it will be entirely manned by present and past Officers of the Brigade, and offers of such service for periods of not less than one month will be gladly received. No more splendid or more useful field of service could be conceived, and no one ought to be better suited to it than the experienced and efficient BB Officer.

Those offering their services should state their age, any past experience of similar work, and any accomplishments, such as singing, playing, or other form of entertaining. Even ability to cook will be taken into account in selecting staff (Anon., [1ˢᵗ March] 1915: 98).

By September the military insisted the service period be extended to a minimum of three months (Anon., [1ˢᵗ September] 1915: 2) and Officers should be above military age (*ibid.*) or disqualified from active service – a point made clear the following month. Relaying opinions of soldiers who believed that some at home were 'slacking' from their duty or profiting from their absence, an author writing in the *Gazette* notes '[t]he soldier is inclined to look askance at physically fit men, other than ministers, between the ages of 20 and 35' (Anon., [1ˢᵗ October] 1915: 21). Appeals for staff continued in the pages of the *Gazette* throughout the War yet on 1ˢᵗ January 1916 the constant changing of personnel disliked by the military (Anon., [1ˢᵗ September] 1915: 2) was, at least in part, abated by Rev. A.H.H. Organ's decision to leave his Church in Pontypridd to take permanent charge of the Recreation Hut in Rouen (Anon., [1ˢᵗ January] 1916: 66). Organ, previously Captain of the 2ⁿᵈ Pontypridd Company and secretary of Pontypridd District Battalion (*ibid.*), clearly fit the staff profile repeatedly outlined in the pages of the *Gazette*.

Having raised £2,820 in the first appeal (Anon., [1ˢᵗ November] 1916a: 31) a decision was taken by October of 1916 that a second appeal was required (Anon., [1ˢᵗ October] 1916: 22) in order to extend and maintain both the Hut in Rouen and that in Edinburgh (Anon., [1ˢᵗ November] 1916a: 32). The following month the appeal was launched and once again every company was encouraged to co-operate (*ibid.*). Indeed, in January 1917 the *Gazette* put this in no uncertain terms when it stated that '[i]f a Company fails to support heartily such a scheme as this the failure is not the Boys': it is the Officer's failure in not placing it before his boys in the right way – or in omitting to do so at all' (Anon., [1ˢᵗ January] 1917: 54). By the time a third appeal was sanctioned by Brigade Council[74] meeting in Birmingham in the autumn of 1918 approximately the same sum of money as had been raised by the first appeal had been raised for the second (Anon., [1ˢᵗ November] 1918: 26). Although the procedure for the redistribution of funds in the event of the conclusion of war had been put in place at the launch of the second appeal (Anon., [1ˢᵗ November] 1916a: 32) it was hoped that this third appeal would be the last (Anon., [1ˢᵗ November] 1918: 26). It was. The Armistice was signed on 11ᵗʰ November 1918 – just ten days after the *Gazette* launch of the third appeal – yet the appeal for men and money continued. Despite being informed that the

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[74] Brigade Council is an annual peripatetic gathering and decision-making forum for BB Officers.

Rouen Hut would have to close in April the following year The BB was requested to carry on its work with the army of occupation (Anon., [1st March] 1919: 80). Deciding to accept the YMCA's invitation The BB duly 'follow[ed] the boys into one of the Rhine towns' (Anon., [1st April], 1919: 87). It transpired that their new 'home' was to be Cologne (Wilson, 1919: 12).

...TWO ACCOMPLISHMENTS?

So, I have presented two isolated, yet, crucially, spatially and temporally connected, dramas from the overall play of history. On the one hand we have a Recreation Hut in Rouen, on the other, a Battalion of ex-BB members in the trenches on the Somme. Taking seriously Philo and Parr's (2000) call to consider institutions as geographic accomplishments it is the aim of this vignette to tease out from these two historical dramas two very different ways of theorising The BB as such. In order to elucidate, let me return to the Recreation Hut in Rouen, but this time I wish to pass through its doors.

RETURNING TO ROUEN

Roger Peacock, reporting his visit to Rouen in the *Gazette*, provides a first glimpse inside the Recreation Huts:

> [T]he B.B. Hut [...] consists of two large separate halls, connected by a short passage. The halls measure about 120 feet by 50 feet, and there are also a number of other rooms for the Staff – a kitchen, lavatories etc. All these are lighted by electric light, with which the whole of the Camps are illuminated. *The larger of the halls is the club room*, open most of the day. It is provided with tables and chairs for reading and writing, and at one end there is a long counter at which refreshments are served and the various needs of the men catered for. [...] The adjoining hall is a concert hall, where the nightly entertainment and services on Sunday are held. It is provided with a platform and a piano, and every evening there is an entertainment of some sort ([1st May] 1915: 132; added emphasis).

As accurate as this description of the internal geography of the Hut may be, it remains lifeless. Later in Peacock's own report, and especially in subsequent *Gazette* articles, life is breathed into the Hut through the recollection of small episodes in its history; Christmas celebrations are reported (Anon., [1st February] 1916: 85), pen portraits of those passing through its doors are drawn (Organ, [1st January] 1917: 55), and meetings of 'Old Boys' over tea recorded (Anon., [1st September] 1917: 9). Some episodes are tragic;

Plate 3 The BB Recreation Hut, Rouen, France.

Source: Springhall *et al*, 1983: 111

Plate 4 The BB Rest Hut, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Source: Springhall *et al*, 1983: 111

Then there was Sergeant Rice from 1st Stoke-under-Ham Company. Though only nineteen, and boyish for that, he had already won his Sergeant's stripes in the army as well. A letter from his BB Captain told me he was lying seriously wounded at a hospital a few miles away. Twice I was able to get over to see him, where I found he had been lying on his back for two months. While spending an hour together over cups of tea, he would tell me, as far as his strength would allow him, of his old Company and how he longed to get on crutches and come to see the BB Hut of which he had heard so much. Not one murmur of complaint all the time. Once he spoke of some day getting back to the old home in Blighty and helping his Captain with the old Company; but God in His mercy had prepared for him a better country and a higher service, and the BB has another sacred grave-spot in France (Organ, [1st January] 1917: 55).

Others are mildly comedic;

On one occasion a newly-arrived Scottie handed me a five franc note and demanded two penny [refreshment] tickets. As change he received a franc note on the Ville de Rouen, a half-franc note on the Ville de Boulogne, an English shilling, a postal order for 6d., a Swiss half-franc piece, two penny stamps, a 25c. nickel, two French pennies, and seven sous of assorted nationalities. He stared indignantly at the change and demanded English money. I invited him to 'search me', and as he grasped the situation the suspicious frown slowly melted into a pleasant smile.

As a rule the English and Irish lads take their change with the casual nonchalance that distinguishes them, and sometimes move away before they have received the half of what is due to them, and have to be called back. But Jock blocks the way until he has counted his twice over! (Anon., [1st September] 1915: 5).

The playing out of national stereotypes within the Hut aside, what shines through all writing on the Hut is the emphasis on the 'BB Atmosphere'. Repeatedly this is perceived to be something that sets The BB Hut apart within the camp as a unique space within which individual soldiers, such as Sergeant Rice, 'long' to spend time. Yet, it could be speculated that this is something that the space itself makes; or, more accurately, the 'BB Atmosphere' is (re)created through the manipulation of space.

(RE)CREATING 'ATMOSPHERE'

In an article entitled 'An Old Boys' testimony to the BB Hut at Rouen' an unnamed 'Old Boy'[75] notes:

I was in the billiard room last night, and I soon spotted the BB photographs which decorate the walls. It did me a world of good to see those happy faces again. 'Cheero', we too are trying to 'keep

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[75] The anonymous nature of this letter may suggest possible fabrication. This possibility must be weighed, however, against the perception within a Christian organisation that such a manoeuvre would be regarded as unethical. The protection of identity may therefore be a more plausible explanation. Yet, this ambiguity highlights that all such articles quoted herein are, of course, only one side of The BB Recreation Hut and are particularly, and admittedly somewhat cynically, that presented to ensure continued support for the Hut at home.

smiling', but it would be a trifle easier if our tents were away back on the familiar old camp field, and we dwelt again in that sweet-scented meadow by the sea instead of in the mud of France (Anon., [1st May] 1917: 104).

Display of 'things BB' was central to this manipulation. And not only photographs. A portrait of the Founder – Sir William Alexander Smith – found its way onto the walls (Peacock, [1st May] 1915: 133) and from early in the Hut's life a list of Companies contributing funds to the hut was displayed (Anon., [1st April] 1915: 114). At Old Boys' teas held on Sunday afternoons:

> The annual report, with the Boys in BB Uniform on the cover, was of great interest. Men were glad to see the names of their old Companies there. Some were delighted to find that the man who had been Captain in their time was still in command; and others found, with regret, that their old Company was extinct or that the same number was now that of a different Company, connected with another Church (Anon., [1st September] 1917: 9).

Although at the outset the division served by the camp in which the Hut was situated did not include any territorials or 'New Army' troops (see above; Anon., [1st October] 1915: 21) over time the Visitor's book – to be signed by Old Boys (Peacock, [1st May] 1915: 133) – slowly filled and by November 1916 it held over 1,000 names (Organ, [1st November] 1916: 32). Two months earlier, territorials and new army troops began to pass through the Recreation Hut, the proportion of Old Boys began to increase and the Old Boys' tea instituted[76] (*ibid.*). Yet, where the aforementioned displays could be said to *reconnect* the ex-BB member with the BB back home, Old Boys' teas were concerned also with *relocation*; quite literally 'taking them back' to another time and place.

> On a recent Sunday no fewer than twenty-five ex-members crowded into our new writing room, and were welcomed by Mr. Organ, who acted as host. After grace, sung in true camp fashion, each man was asked to name his old BB Company. [...] During the next half-hour the war, which in one or other of its many aspects, usually occupies all our minds, was absolutely forgotten. Some went back two years, some twenty years, to their old BB days: old camp experiences, old picnics, old drills, and old Bible-Classes were brought to our minds once more. Long-forgotten scenes were revived and vivid accounts were given of how the — th —— Company had for the — th time won the —— Cup (Anon., [1st September] 1917: 9).

Two cards were given to each 'Old Boy' at the close of the tea. Emblazoned with The BB anchor[77] the first headed 'To Old Boys serving in the Forces' expressed the gratitude of boys at home for the

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[76] In an address given to Brigade Council, meeting in Glasgow, Rev. A.H.H. Organ notes that Old Boys' Teas were experimented with just prior to his leave (Organ, [1st November] 1916: 32).

[77] Since its founding in 1883 the anchor has been the emblem of The BB and excepting the addition of the Geneva Cross at the amalgamation of The BB with The Boys' Life Brigade in 1926 and a more recent change in the spelling of the word 'Stedfast' the image remains largely unaltered. The use of both this symbol, and the motto 'Sure & Stedfast', derives from Hebrews 6:19 in the King James Bible; 'Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul both sure and stedfast'. Note the emblem's prominence on the Recreation Hut in Rouen (see Plate 3) and its presence alongside the YMCA's 'Triangle' in Edinburgh (see Plate 4).

service of those in France before paragraphs expressing bravery, determination, mercy, chivalry, patience and cheerfulness. It ended 'May you at all times be true to the best which is in you and loyal to the King of Kings' (Anon., [1st September] 1917: 9). The second contained the message; 'Greetings from Officers and Boys of the BB to their old comrades in admiration of their devotion and self-sacrifice, and in glorious memory of those who have fallen' (*ibid.*). Both cards served to reconnect the Old Boys to home but also to the Hut and their time spent there somewhere else.

Yet, the Hut itself was about more than reconnection and relocation, it fulfilled its name fully, its mission was also recreation, or rather, re-creation. It was, to trace the etymology of the word from its Latin roots *recreatio* through its Old French incarnation *recreare*, about 'creating again and renewing' (Pearsall, 2001: 1198). And not simply connections, but character.

> The BB Atmosphere and the renewal of old associations meant a deal to them, and *during their stay the Hut became their own club room*. The brotherhood of the BB, the friendships formed and cemented at Brigade Council meetings between Officers from all parts of the kingdom, proved their value here. During the less busy periods, when handing a cup of tea, say, to a lad wearing the badge of the Blankshires, we would ask: 'Do you come from A —, or B —, or C —' naming the chief towns of the county. 'From C —, sir' might be the reply. We then mentioned some of the best-known officers of the C — Battalion, and in many cases they would be recognised. A kind of introduction being thus effected, the lads would be only too happy to talk of their towns and homes, would appreciate the interest shown, and would be linked to the life of the Hut, so that they and their chums would henceforth spend all their spare time within its influence (Anon., [1st October] 1915: 21; added emphasis).

In being modelled as closely as possible on the club room (see above; Springhall *et al*, 1983: 108) and, in fact, becoming it (see also Peacock [1st May] 1915: 132, above), it could be speculated that it was hoped the values imbued in that space – values designed to influence character – would be re-created in France through its transportation. Yet, in order to understand this further we must ourselves take leave from the Hut in France, and turn our attention to the Club Room itself, and, particularly, the construction of the city upon which its existence is founded.

CLUB ROOMS

Also known as the 'Boys' Room', the 'Club Room' was first introduced as a feature of The BB's work during the second session of the 1st Glasgow Company (Shaw, 1983: 24). An 1884 report of the Free College Church, to which the North Woodside Mission Hall in Glasgow's West End was connected, records the motivation behind its introduction. On that occasion the founder noted;

> The Officers had long been conscious of the demoralising effect upon the boys of hanging about at night, for want of any better place to go. They accordingly made application to the Deacon's Court and were cordially granted the sole use of a large room in the Mission buildings. This room is now brightly and tastefully, though plainly, furnished; is supplied with games, papers and attractive periodicals and books and is open every night in the week. It really forms the 'home' of the Company

and very pleasing it is to drop in of an evening and find the boys taking full advantage of it, some sitting quietly reading, others playing games and others sitting around the fire discussing matters in which they may be interested (Smith, quoted in Springhall *et al*, 1983: 58).

That this somewhat romantic and peaceful portrait was replicated throughout The BB is perhaps doubtful. Although not quite approaching the experience of Rev. Billy Carter at the Mallard Street Boys' Club (see CHAPTER ONE) Springhall *et al* go on to suggest that the scene at the 26th Edinburgh Company may have been more typical;

> We are occasionally treated to a musical 'turn' by Jock Stewart who plays on his wooden crackers, the noise of which annoys the boys studying a game of draughts (quoted in Springhall *et al*, 1983: 58).

Club Rooms quickly became an important, and popular, feature of The BB's work in Glasgow prior to the Great War. Inaugurated in 1899, the Recreation committee of Glasgow Battalion fostered their development by encouraging Companies to participate in team and individual draughts competitions (Shaw, 1983: 24). Over time the popularity of the competitions waned (*ibid.*), yet the future of the Boys' Room as a 'helpful adjunct to the ordinary work of a Company' was secured (McClure, 1911: 15). A similar story presents itself within The BB nationally. Between 1907 (the year when statistics on Boys' Rooms started to be reported) and the outbreak of conflict between 37% and 41% percent of all Companies operated such rooms (see Graph 1). Notwithstanding The BB's amalgamation with The Boys' Life Brigade on 1st October 1926 (Smith, 1927: 15), their popularity in the inter-war period continued to rise (see Graph 1).

While statistics evidence the popularity of this branch of The BB's work they cannot reach the underpinning imagined geography of the city upon which its provision rests. Uncovering this construction requires one to delve into the archives once more.

IMAGINING THE CITY

Writing in 1893, Smith notes of Boys' Rooms;

> Acting on the principle that 'Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do', the Brigade seeks so to occupy the time and interest of its Boys, that there shall be no room for the entry of that evil spirit who is ever on the alert to take possession of the empty heart and life. And, so, on the nights that are not occupied by Drill, Ambulance[78], gymnastics, or anything of a definite nature, it is becoming increasingly common to open a 'Boys' Room' which is made as bright and attractive as possible, and is furnished with games, books, papers and periodicals, where the Boys may spend the winter nights with pleasure and profit under the influence of their Officers, instead of running wild about the street (Smith, 1893: 15-16).

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[78] Ambulance is an early name for First Aid.

Graph 1 United Kingdom Boys' Rooms Statistics, 1907-1939
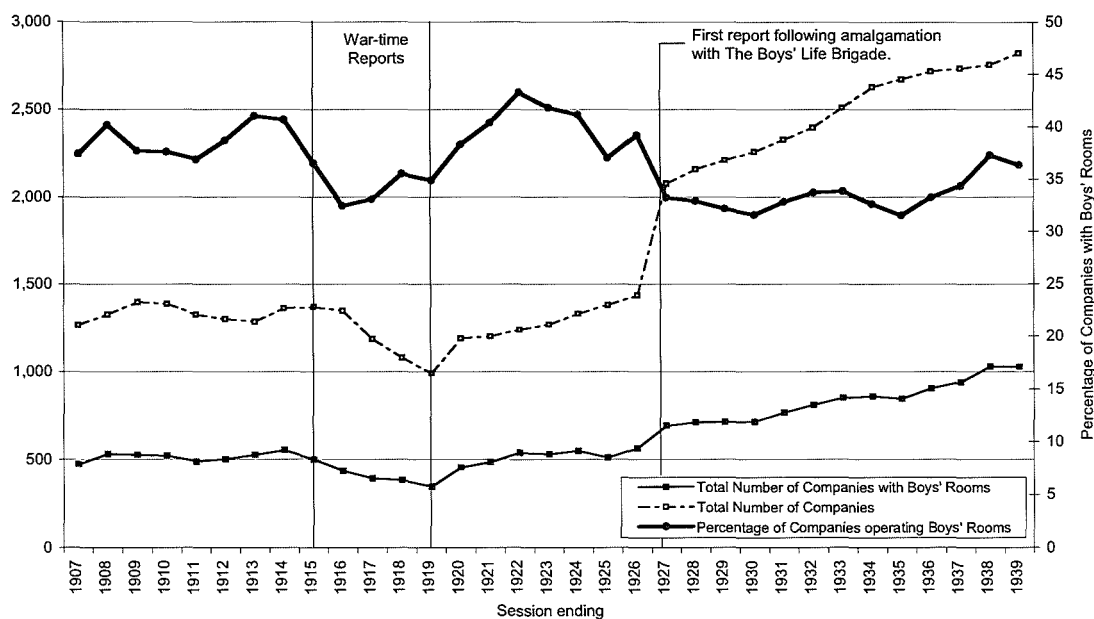
Source: The Boys' Brigade, Annual Reports.

The rhetoric of evil, particularly in relation to idleness, is no surprise to the scholar of the late-Victorian era, yet, in this, and subsequent reports in later years, personified evil is *placed*; Satan lurks in the busy (McClure, 1912: 15), crowded (Smith, 1898: 18) urban[79] streets and particularly on street-corners from where 'he' tempts young men (Smith, 1894: 18), leading them astray (Smith, 1896: 20). The Boys' Room, then, served as a 'counter-attraction to the evils of the streets' (Smith, 1892: 59) yet not only as a 'space' to keep young men off the streets temporarily but one in which, through influence, Satan's temptation outwith the space was rendered ineffective. In other words, provision of Boys' Rooms was concerned not only with the containment of bodies in one space rather than another, but was also motivated by a desire to influence minds. As Smith notes;

> Acting on the principle that the best way to keep evil out of a Boy's life is to fill his thoughts and interests with all that is good and pure and true, the Brigade is not content with stated meetings for various purposes on particular nights of the week, but in a great many Companies seek to provide something profitable for the spare evenings as well, by opening what is known as the Boys' Room (Smith, 1895: 17-18).

Control of time was therefore crucial. At no point should 'the Boy' be outside the influence, a point made clear the following year;

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[79] The 'evils of the streets' (Smith, 1896: 19) of cities are usually referred to, yet in 1899, Smith remarks of Boys' Rooms; 'It would be difficult to imagine a better counter-attraction to the temptations of the streets in our large cities *and even in our country villages*' (Smith, 1899: 16; added emphasis).

> Officers of the Brigade are realising more and more that much of the work they endeavour to do will be nullified by adverse influences, unless they can provide a *continual* counter-attraction to the evils of the streets (Smith, 1896: 19; added emphasis).

This is perhaps where the secretary of the Executive Committee of Glasgow Battalion, Andrew McClure and that of The BB, William Smith, part company, if only slightly. Where the former views the Boys' Room as an adjunct to The BB's work (see above; also McClure, 1912: 15; McClure, 1913: 18; McClure, 1915: 18), the latter regards it as a keystone which, if removed, allows all other building blocks to fall, or at very least reduce their efficacy.

INFLUENCING THE BOY

Over the weekend of 15th–17th September 1900 Brigade Council met in Carlisle (Smith, 1900: 11). An integral part of that meeting was the Officer's Conference at which one of the subjects discussed was 'The practical Working of a Boys' Room, and the advantages to be derived from it' (*ibid.*). But, what were these advantages?

As argued, the answer to this question may, however, lie in the second topic for discussion that weekend, 'Discipline and personal influence – the necessity of the former' (*ibid.*). Discipline during Company drill meetings made possible the successful operation of the Boys' Rooms (see Wilson, 1922: 13) the primary function of which was the latter, personal influence. Yet, the space of the Boys' Room was itself implicated in this process.

WHOLESOME SURROUNDINGS

The Boys' Room was set up to be 'the most wholesome surroundings, where every influence for good may be brought to bear upon them [the Boys]' (Smith, 1898: 18). Literature as a good wholesome influence was central. In 1901 the Boys' Room was first referred to as a Reading and Recreation Room and by 1906 Boys' Libraries as 'a useful and helpful adjunct to the Boys' Room' (Smith, 1906: 16) were first mentioned under a separate heading in the annual report of Brigade Executive. This 'small Library of well-selected Boys' Books' (*ibid.*) was designed to '[play] an important role in regulating and guiding their reading' (*ibid.*). One could imagine the contents of the bookshelves, but, perhaps we need not, for a similar library was set up in the Recreation Hut in Rouen. When a call for 'wholesome literature' was made by Rev. Walter Mursell on 1st November 1917 after a visit to the Hut, in addition to a case of books he himself sent out, 'a set of Dickens' and Thackeray's novels, three volumes of Shakespeare, Green's *History of the English People* [and] Macauley's *Essays* had been sent' (Anon., [1st March] 1918: 85). Perhaps this gives an idea of the type of literature designed to 'encourage the Boys to read, and cultivate among them a taste for good healthy literature' (Smith, 1912: 19) within the Boys' Rooms. Yet, literature and games such as draughts (see above), were not the only tactics employed to achieve influence over the Boys; central also was knowledge of the individual.

KNOWLEDGE OF = INFLUENCE OVER

The belief that knowledge *of* the individual equated with influence *over* the individual is most clearly set out by Smith in 1899. Here he notes;

> As a means of getting to know their Boys more thoroughly, and, consequently having more opportunity of influencing their lives and characters, Officers are finding that there is no more helpful agency than the 'Boys' Room' which has become almost a *sine qua non* in a well-organised Company (Smith, 1899: 16).

Although following the death of William Smith in 1914 this equation was played down[80] (perhaps saying more about the role of the annual report's author – the Brigade Secretary – than a change in underpinning motivation) at its inception it was central, as repeated statements in the report echoing that above testify.

Thus, in summary, the space of the Boys' Room was designed not simply as a diversion *from* the streets but, through the manipulation of the space (i.e., the presence/absence of objects [e.g., books] or bodies [e.g., Officers]) – as a tactic in the influence of character – as a direct challenge *to* the streets and the evil perceived to be contained therein; the space served to create young men able to resist the 'evil city's' temptations. And, so, just as the body must be taken away from immoral spaces the mind must be purged of any desire to enter them in the first place; the Boys Room – *as a discipline* – is not only corporal but also carceral. The manipulation of the space of the Boys' room is, I have argued, implicated in this discipline. Yet, on this reading, it is this function of the Boys' Room that underpins the re-creation of Boys' Rooms in France through the Recreation Hut, and perhaps sheds light on the importance of its reconnection and relocation functions; reconnection and relocation are not only a diversion but serve as influences over character.

TEMPTATION ACROSS THE CHANNEL

Yet, the space of the Boys' Room remains one constructed, not only *through* a discourse of evil, but *against* an 'evil other'; not evil *per se* but 'evil *as* temptation'. In France, however, instead of the temptations of the city it is those of a large camp which are to be allayed. George Barclay, in a report to Roger Peacock of 5th October 1915, writes;

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[80] For example, in 1915 Smith's son Douglas Pearson Smith, interim Brigade Secretary, notes that the Boys' room 'is found to be a very helpful agency in counteracting the influences of the streets, and gives the Officers the opportunity of getting alongside their Boys in an informal way, and consequently getting to know them more thoroughly' (Smith, 1915: 21). H. Arnold Wilson five years later remarks that it 'affords a valuable opportunity for informal intercourse between Officers and Boys' (Wilson, 1920: 12) whereas Charles Guthrie and J.A. Roxburgh note that 'Officers find that it gives them an opportunity of understanding Boys who might otherwise never get to know well' going on to note that ' apart from everything else, the Boys' Room provides an effective counter-attraction to the streets' (Guthrie and Roxburgh, 1916: 19).

> At a time when the fierce and cruel temptations of a large camp are making themselves felt; it is no
> small service to remind Old Boys of the things that they were once taught in The Old Company
> (quoted in Springhall *et al*, 1983: 108).

Indeed, it is this idea of curbing temptation through reconnection that underpins the decision to
follow the YMCA into Cologne. In a report of the decision in the *Gazette* it is noted;

> Now that the fighting is over, the Boys have much more spare time on their hands, and there are
> many temptations all around, so we must get there quickly to help them. Funds are urgently required
> if the work which has been so well done during the past four years is to be continued, so do not let us
> think that because there is no fighting there is no need to trouble. Our Boys were safer from many of
> the temptations during the four years of war than they will be now, away from home with little to
> occupy their time (Anon. [1st April] 1919: 87).

And, so, we are back in the Boys' Room of a city Company; productively occupying free time save
idle hands turn to the devil's work. But there is time for one final reflection. Perhaps what
Sassoon sought in his poem which opened this vignette, The BB, in a roundabout way, aimed to
provide. And so, amongst talk of influence, even control, we must strike a balance between this
and need.

The Boys' Brigade: a bounded institution?

Momentarily returning to the central task of this vignette, what can be drawn from this discussion
of the creation and re-creation of the 'Boys' Room' is that it is perceived that what makes The BB,
The BB – its essence, or, indeed, atmosphere – *can be recreated* through the manipulation of space.
The BB is here conceived of as a bounded space; it can be entered and left. Yet, it has already been
hinted towards throughout the above discussion that although The BB *as a bounded space* can be
left, its influence – in the minds, thoughts, even actions, of individuals – can exist without its 'four-
walls'. Just as one can bound the institution – pin it down in Cartesian space – it is also elusive and
thoroughly embodied, existing within and between people; in short, relationally. It is a network
whose actors potentially create or recreate a distinct, or perhaps hybrid, 'BB Space' in the course
of ordinary or, indeed, extraordinary lifecourses. Could then, to return to our second drama, a
distinct 'BB Space' have been (re)created in the trenches on the Somme by the 16th H.L.I.? In
search of clues we turn to Thomas Chalmers' edited history of the Battalion, *A Saga of Scotland*.

'A Saga of Scotland'

Chalmers' *A Saga of Scotland*, published in 1930, bears all the hallmarks of the medieval
Scandinavian tradition which its title evokes (see e.g., *Orkneyinga Saga*). Bravery, courage,
determination in the face of adversity and even moments of levity, all feature in this tale of 'heroic
achievement' (Pearsall, 2001: 1259). Yet, it is a *Saga* informed by the heroes themselves.
Appointed as the volume's editor by the 16th H.L.I. Association Committee, Chalmers draws upon

a wealth of information from individuals already mentioned, such as Colonel D. Laidlaw and Colonel W.D. Scott, those whose acquaintance we will yet make, Lieutenant-Colonel R. Kyle and Private R.K. 'Dick' Manson, and others whose recollections must wait for another day or another pen, Major A. Macfarlane, Captain A. Fraser (Chalmers, 1930: preface). Indeed, many of the episodes were written by these individuals or at very least informed by first hand accounts in the form of diaries and personal papers (*ibid.*). Thus, Chalmers' detailed account provides invaluable insight into the life (and death) of the 16th H.L.I. during the Great War and the route The BB Battalion travelled to reach the Somme.

THE ROAD TO THE SOMME

After formation in September 1914, the story of which opened this vignette, the 16th H.L.I. (hereafter simply 16th) spent the next year in training, first at Gailes camp near Irvine on the Ayrshire coast (Chalmers, 1930: 9) and from 12th May 1925 toured various camps in England – Press Heath, Wensleydale, Doncaster, Codford St. Mary (*ibid.*: 11) – before arriving at Folkestone on 23rd November 1915 to sail to France (*ibid.*: 12). Over the next four years until demobilisation on 19th November 1919 (*ibid.*: 145) the 16th were involved in major battles of the War; Passchendaele, Beaumont-Hamel, Somme just three honours it could embroider onto its colours (see *ibid.*: 140, 147-8; see Plate 5). Here, however, I wish to focus on the latter battle for two reasons. First, it was in the 'eternal mud' (Chalmers, 1930: 17) of the Somme that the 16th gained its 'baptism' (*ibid.*: 15) and, second, notwithstanding the fact 'that many fine types, owning no such common allegiance, brought their virtues to the pool of the original force' (*ibid.*: 3) it was at this time that the make-up of the Battalion was most clearly ex-BB members.

SOMME

1st July 1916. 7:30 a.m. Zero hour. The 16th advanced, 755 men, 25 Officers (*ibid.*: 36) towards their first objective, the *Wunderwerk*, an 'inpregnable maze of trenches' (*ibid.*: 34; see Plate 6). Progress effectively halted by imperfectly cut barbed wire the troops were forced to take positions in shell holes next to the wire. It was on this occasion that a sergeant of the 16th, armed with a Lewis Gun, engaged in a 'private battle' (Middlebrook, 1984: 236; Chalmers, 1930: 36), a frequently recounted story first told by Colonel R. Kyle who, at noon, had taken command of the Battalion after Colonel Laidlaw had been wounded (see above; *ibid.*: 37);

> Observing a break in the enemy trenches the sergeant trained his gun on the opening. As there was considerable traffic along the trench, he caused great execution. Having exhausted 24 drums of ammunition and being the last of his section left, he crawled back at dusk to the Line bringing his gun with him. He asked me for a fresh supply of drums that he might use at dawn, but as we were to be relieved I did not grant the request, greatly to his disappointment (quoted in Chalmers, 1930: 1936).

Plate 5   16th H.L.I. Battle Honours

Source: Chalmers, 1930: frontispiece

For this the unnamed sergeant received the Distinguished Conduct Medal and the Cross of the Russian Order of St. George (4th Class) yet was killed just weeks later 'leading a raid south of La Bassee' (*ibid.*)[81]. Others similarly sheltering in shell holes, found beauty even in the midst of the horror. As Private G.E. Waller recalls;

> I suppose a shell hole is not the best place from which to admire anything but, believe it or not, waving about just over my head were two full-blown red poppies which stood out in pleasant contrast against the azure blue sky (quoted in Middlebrook, 1984: 191).

Yet, hell it remained. Within ten minutes of zero hour estimates suggest over half the strength of the 16th had been lost (Chalmers, 1930: 36). In total 554 poppies grow on the fields of the Somme in memoriam of those lost that day (*ibid.*: 38; see also above). Much more of the unfolding *Saga* of the 16th in the days, weeks, months and years that followed the Somme could be recounted; of the eventual capitulation of the *Wunderwerk* on September 14th 1916 (*ibid.*: 38), of Beaumont-Hamel, of the 90 soldiers trapped behind enemy lines in the Frankfurt Trench for eight days after this battle (Macdonald, 1993: 357; see Plate 7), of the 15 who survived the 'epic' (Chalmers,

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[81] Although unnamed in Chalmers' text only one soldier of the 16th H.L.I. received the Cross of the Russian Order of St. George, L./Sergeant J. Anderson (Chalmers, 1930: 163). Anderson was one of 22 soldiers awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal and is listed amongst the 796 non-commissioned officers and men who lost their lives serving with the 16th H.L.I. (*ibid.*: 153-60). Thirty-six officers are listed in memoriam (*ibid.*: 153).

1930: 57, 66), of Passchendaele and beyond. Yet this remains, not a work of military or social history but a *geography* and it is to this task that I now turn.

CREATING A TRENCH

Concluding her own history *Somme,* Macdonald recounts the story of the Frankfurt Trench and the eventual capture of the 15 aforementioned 16th H.L.I. troops by German soldiers on Sunday 25th November 1916;

> [T]hey marched them to Brigade Headquarters for interrogation. Starving, filthy, frozen, exhausted and on the verge of collapse, they stumbled to attention in front of a German Major. An interpreter was present. Long years later, Private Dick Manson remained convinced that there was a touch of admiration in his glance as he translated the Major's words 'Is *this* what has held the Brigade up for a week? Who are you and where have you come from?' They replied with name, rank and number. They were too weary to say more. But they might have answered that they had come, by a roundabout route, from Glasgow. That they were a representative cross-section of their Battalion – shipping clerks, errand boys, stevedores, railway porters, grocers' assistants, postmen. That they were, in short, fifteen soldiers of Kitchener's Army (1993: 357-8; original emphasis).

But it is conceivable that they had also, via an equally contorted route, come from The BB. Just as the H.L.I. soldier may 'leave Glesca' (Shaw, 1983: 37) there is also a piece of Glasgow he carries with him, a connection between 'home' and Battalion *and* between each member. Acting on a similar principle could it not then be said that although each Boy leaves The BB the Brigade does not leave the Boy? The clichéd nature of the phrase and comments made above regarding the original composition of the Battalion notwithstanding, is there not a connection between each member here? Yet, perhaps before proceeding further comment should be made regarding the Battalion's composition.

Plate 6 16th HLI Line of Attack, 1st July 1916
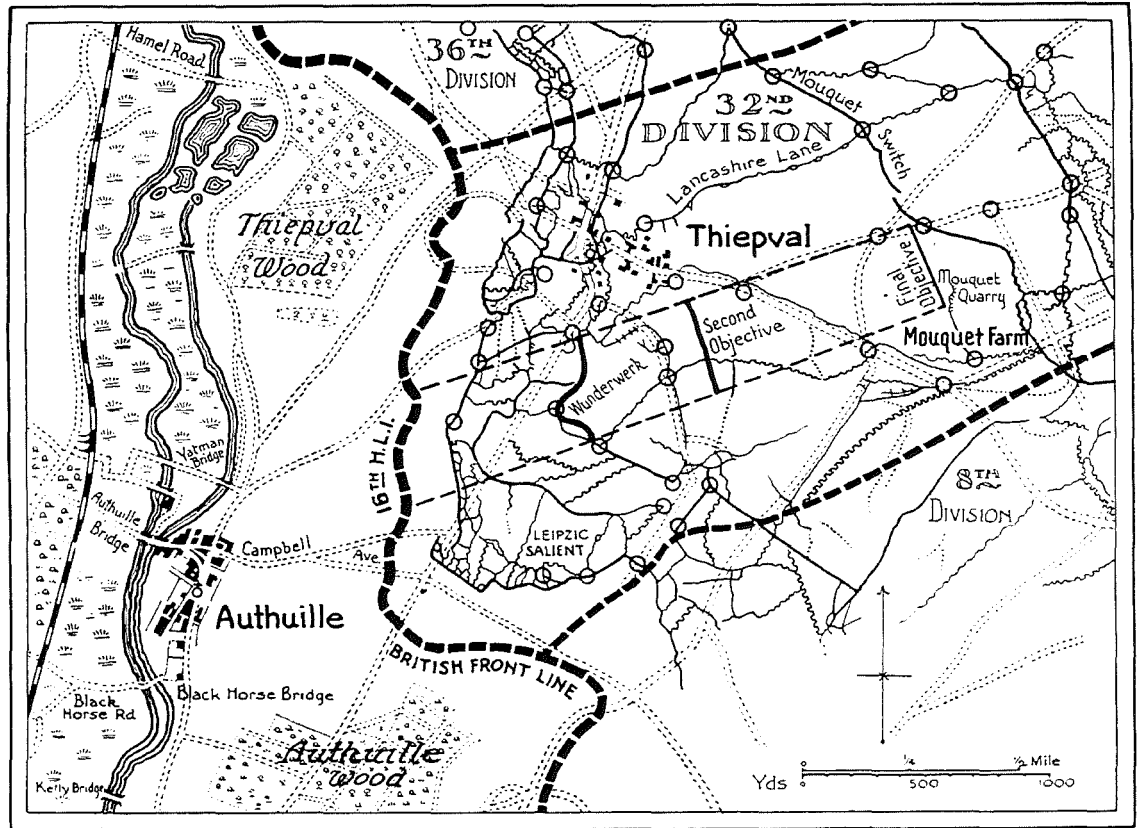
Source: Chalmers, 1930: between 32 and 33

Plate 7 16th HLI Line of Attack, 18th November 1916
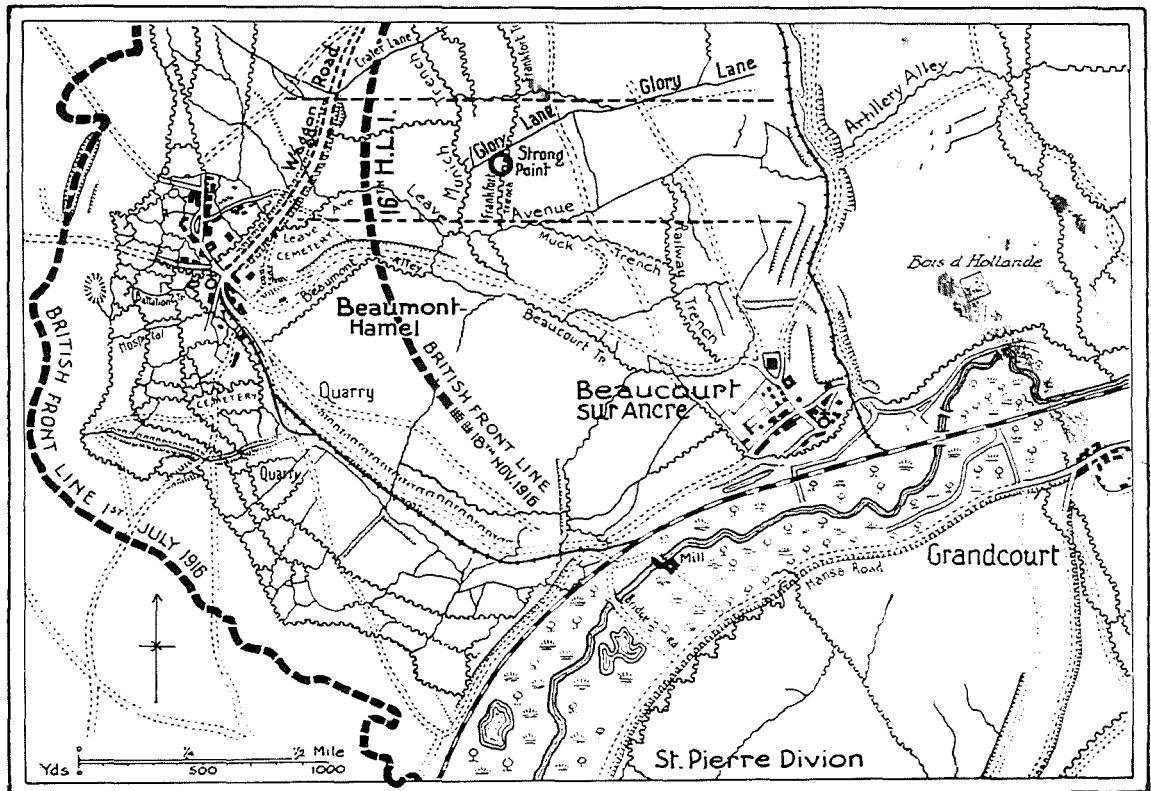
Source: Chalmers, 1930: between 48 and 49

CYCLISTS, BANTAMS AND SASSENACHS

After the losses sustained on the Somme reinforcements to the Battalion were required. It was usual practice to draw such units from reserves of the Battalion or regiment (Chalmers, 1930: 45). Clearly, then, the make-up of the Battalion was fluid with soldiers potentially drawn from the reserves of the 16th or those of the H.L.I. itself. And so, over time, and out of necessity, The BB Battalion was less and less composed of ex-BB members even if the 'spirit of this first influence' (*ibid.*: 3) was maintained. Indeed, on the same day as the 16th was decimated advancing across the Somme a draft from the Highland Cyclist Battalion, thus far charged with coastal patrol duties in Fife and Forfar, left Scotland for France intending to join a Battalion of the Black Watch with which they had long been associated (*ibid.*: 46). By the end of July they were sent 'up the line' to reinforce the strength of the 16th and 17th H.L.I. (*ibid.*) becoming the largest of the 16th's drafts during the conflict (*ibid.*: 45). Similarly, in December of the same year a draft from the Bantams[82] supplemented the Battalions strength and at Nieuport in 1917 reinforcements were drawn from Nottingham, Derby and Yorkshire depots due to a shortage in Scottish depots, a 'Sassenach invasion' (*ibid.*) which dismayed the commanding officer – 'a perfervid Scot' (*ibid.*). Yet, despite such additions, and echoing comments above, Chalmers notes that 'certainly in the beginning – and consistently in public sentiment – the Battalion was identified with the BB from which was supplied a strong sustenance of numbers, traditions and character' (*ibid.*: 3). Perhaps more crucial, however, is not the representation of the Battalion at home but the life of the Battalion during the war. Are there any clues here that reveal a unique 'BB character' within The BB Battalion?

SEARCHING FOR (FOREVER HIDDEN?) CLUES

Excepting the discussion of The BB link at the Battalion's formation, throughout Chalmers' volume, in the many episodes recorded, no connection to The BB reveals itself; no recollection of an impromptu discussion between two soldiers in a trench of the type common in the Recreation Hut, no reference during times at Gailes or other English camps to old days at BB camps, no chance meeting between two ex-members of the same BB Company. Indeed, it is only on the very last pages of the *Saga*, lurking in a final chapter entitled simply 'A Miscellany' that a continuing BB connection throughout the life of the 16th H.L.I. is evidenced. After the 16th had left for France a Comforts Committee was established. Based in The BB's offices in George Square, Glasgow, the committee, 'composed of the wives and mothers of the officers and of women whose relatives were connected with The Boys' Brigade' (Chalmers, 1930: 148) and initially convened by Mrs. Laidlaw (and latterly Mrs. Kyle), raised funds via 'subscriptions, concerts, whist drives, lectures, and other means to purchase the wool for the knitting of the comforts which made the trenches endurable' (*ibid.*: 148). One would imagine that deliveries of what one would suppose to be

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[82] Unscrupulous recruiting officers notwithstanding, the minimum height for military service prior to March 1915 was 5' 3". Yet, from this date those recruits between 5' 0" and 5' 3" were formed into a Bantam division. It was believed these troops had a significant advantage in the trenches, being small enough to avoid German snipers (Middlebrook, 1984: 15-16).

jerseys, scarves, hats, gloves, socks or other comforts would not only have reinforced the BB connection (i.e., the package coming *from* home) but may also have prompted conversations absent in Chalmers account. But, it should be stressed that the fact these minutiae of daily life are not reported by Chalmers or his sources (see above) does not necessarily mean they did not occur. Indeed, there may be a claim to be made that such *practices* – of talk, of friendships along old Company lines, of old rivalries between companies recreated, perhaps – would not find their way into such an account, for although it is one of heroes (see above), it remains, in the main, one of officers, and thus, as such these thoroughly embodied practices would have been interpreted, translated and represented, if reported at all. But it would have been these practices which may have made the spaces The BB occupied unique in character, not in the immediate horror of battle but in the expectant periods before battle, route marches to billets, or time spent in camps. These spaces may have been as much a 'BB space' as that bounded space in Rouen if it is considered that it is practice and not only the presence of four-walls that (re)creates such spaces. Yet, on this understanding, one would not expect to find any traces of what is an ephemeral space – existing momentarily between people – to exist; clues will be forever hidden.

THE BOYS' BRIGADE: AN EMBODIED INSTITUTION?

Taking practice seriously opens many doors to understanding. If The BB can be said to have existed in a trench on the Somme how conceivable is it that The BB, with its distinct ethos and disciplines, stretches its tentacles of influence into other social spaces and institutions – e.g., the street, the school, the home, the workplace – just as the tentacles from these spaces and others reach into those of The BB. The BB, as an institution exists also therefore as a complex network intertwined with myriad other networks which fold into it. Yet, this network remains one sustained through the (re)creation of space through embodied practices, whether it be the practices which serve to bound and manipulate a space – to give it its four walls – or those that flash into existence in a plethora of ordinary and extraordinary spaces, temporarily reconfiguring them. Thus, if we are to take seriously the fact that institutions are geographic accomplishments, we must take seriously those who accomplish them and the means through which they do so – the very *process* of accomplish*ing*. In short, we must focus on how, and why, those *within* them (re)create them spatially *in addition* to how *they* act in, and, crucially, think about (that) space.

SUMMARY

It has been argued that The BB existed in a Recreation Hut in Rouen and a trench on the Somme. It is both bounded and embodied. The route we have travelled to reach a far from startling conclusion has been somewhat long with many (re)turns. Yet, the implications of this statement *are* far reaching. This understanding demands that both the motivation behind provision of 'four-walled' space – a space, as in France, (re)created through discourse – and also the embodied practices which create spaces are investigated. Concentrating only on the former ignores how

people act within spaces, whereas, over concentration on the latter assumes that such actions are never reaction. Perhaps this has wider implications for contemporary human geography and an *unchecked* progression towards non-representational theory (see Thrift, 1996, 1997), but, for now, it is this understanding which underpins the substantive research of this project. Both provision and practice are key, but also, and more importantly, their complex interweaving within a contemporary BB meeting place, say, a church hall, a site which is both a reconfigured 'four-walled' space, controlled and manipulated – created through discourse – and one created through practices, where (counter)spaces are opened up through resistance and challenges to discourse. Interwoven, in that it is embodied practice which creates and sustains bounded provision and the bounded space which 'makes possible' – yet structures – embodied practice. The BB is *always* both embodied and bounded, yet remains, as illustrated, a distinctly *geographic* accomplishment.

CHAPTER THREE:

SKETCHING CARICATURES, PAINTING MOTIVATIONS

> What strikes me is the fact that in our society, art has become something which is related only to objects and not to individuals, or to life. That art is something which is specialized or which is done by experts who are artists. But couldn't everyone's life become a work of art? Why should the lamp or the house be an art object, but not our life? (Foucault, quoted in Rabinow, 1984: 350).

Though no expert, in this chapter I become the artist. In the next, my brush is handed to those whose caricatures I sketch and motivations I paint here. Through the next two chapters, this section seeks to uncover the motivations behind adults voluntary provision of BB Companies for the boys and young men in their communities.

This first chapter begins by drawing upon findings from the mail-based questionnaire survey to sketch two caricatures; the first of its respondents, the second, their companies. It then moves to paint the motivations of current BB Officers, by weaving together findings from one of the more in-depth questions from the survey, before adding detail by introducing findings from subsequent semi-structured interviews with Officers.

SKETCHING TWO CARICATURES

A caricature is, by definition, a 'loaded' description of a dataset's 'features' (see Pearsall, 2001: 213). Acknowledging this, sketching two caricatures is nevertheless useful. The first – of the questionnaire's respondents – serves as a proxy for the current BB leadership in Scotland, allowing us to begin to bring to life those whose jottings and musings form the backbone of this thesis. The second – of their companies – allows us to gain a 'fix' on the shape of a contemporary Scottish BB Company. To prevent disruption to the flow of these sketches, however, supporting tables and graphs referred to in this section can be found in APPENDIX 5.

THE RESPONDENTS

An initial caricature of an 'average' (yet, clearly, non-existent) respondent would be a male 48-year-old Captain (see Table 1, Table 2, and Graph 1) with 23 years experience as a BB leader (see Graph 2). Despite precedent for the Captain also to perform the role of Company Chaplain, this is highly unlikely, since only two of the 112 respondents who answered this question assumed

both roles (1.8%). Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the tendency of those who complete surveys about specific organisations to be those most actively involved, 43.8% of the 112 respondents to complete this question held offices outside of the responsibilities of their Captaincy (e.g., Battalion Secretary, Battalion Executive Committee Member; see Table 4) with one in three (36.7%) holding two or more 'offices' (see Table 3).

Turning to consider the respondents' biographies, excluding the 13 female respondents for whom membership was not possible, and the one respondent who chose not to answer this question, 89 of the remaining 99 respondents were members of The BB as boys (see Table 5). Most of these individuals (71%; see Table 6) remained members from the age they joined (on average at 8 years old; see Graph 3) until they assumed leadership roles. Of those 26 (29%) who left (on average at the age of 15; see Graph 4) more than a quarter did so due to 'work commitments' (28%) while a further 16% 'lost interest', or 'didn't like it' or the officers (4% each respectively) whereas 8% left as a result of going to university. The remaining 40% was composed of a varied selection of individual reasons outlined in Table 7.

Notwithstanding involvement in The BB, of the 111 respondents who completed the question, 22.7% were members of another youth organisation (see Table 8) most notably either the Scout or Guide Association, accounting for 60% of the 25 who were members of another youth organisation (see Table 10). Of course, the fact that 13 respondents were female will have a marked influence on these results. Disaggregating these figures according to sex reveals that of the 25 respondents who were members of youth organisations as young men/women 11 of these are female (see Table 8). Not unsurprisingly, the Guide Association (64%) and Girls' Brigade/Guildry[83] (27%) were most popular (see Table 9). Despite around a fifth of respondents being *members* of another youth organisation, less than a tenth (7.1%) are currently *leaders* in another youth organisation (see Table 11 and Table 12). When asked if they had *ever* been a leader in another youth organisation, of the 112 respondents to answer the question, 24 (21.6%) stated they had been (see Table 13), with involvement in either LEA- (Local Education Authority) or church-run youth groups topping the list (see Table 14). Just as above, once these figures are broken down according to the respondent's sex it is discovered that none of the 13 female respondents are currently leaders in another youth organisation (see Table 19) with a near 50-50 split emerging when asked about ever being a leader in another youth organisation, markedly different from the near 80-20 split *against* leadership in another youth organisation which emerges amongst men (see Table 13). A breakdown of the organisations in which they were involved is provided in Table 15.

A similar general trend to that outlined above with regard to leadership in other youth organisations emerges when asked about Sunday school involvement. Of the 112 respondents, eight (7.1%) stated they were *currently* Sunday school teachers whereas 39 (34.8%) stated they had

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[83] In 1965 the Girls' Guildry and Girls' Life Brigade amalgamated with the Girls' Brigade of Ireland to form The Girls' Brigade (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 71).

been at some point in the past (see Table 16 and Table 17). However, when these figures are disaggregated by sex it is revealed that of those eight respondents answering yes to the question of whether they were *currently* Sunday school teachers, three (23.1%) are women (see Table 16); and in answer to the question of whether they had *ever been* a Sunday school teacher, of the 13 female respondents in the survey, 61.5% answered yes (see Table 17).

THEIR COMPANIES

Constitutionally, a BB Company can be composed of up to four different 'categories of membership' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 1)[84]. More commonly termed 'Sections', paragraph c of the *Regulations as to Age Limits* defines these categories of membership as follows (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 8);

Section	*Age limits*
Anchor Boys (AB)	6th birthday until 9th birthday
Junior Section (JS)	8th birthday until 12th birthday
Company Section (CS)	11th birthday until 16th birthday
Senior Section (SS)	15th birthday until the end of the session in which he attains his 18th birthday[85]

Clearly, each company, partly in response to local circumstances or leadership constraints, will choose not to operate every 'section'. The survey confirms this. Of the 111 Companies[86] represented in the survey, the number of Companies operating each of the following sections is illustrated in Table 18.

Taken in isolation, and applying a somewhat crude, almost market-driven, approach to their interpretation, these figures would suggest that with increasing age demand for The BB falls and thus a corresponding decrease in supply occurs. And, indeed, it would be fair to note that with increasing age – and particularly for those over 16 – The BB does become a less popular option for young people, a trend confirmed by both the questionnaire survey (see Table 19) and official statistical returns for the United Kingdom (see Graph 5), and, it should also be noted, in line with broader Scottish trends revealed in a contemporaneous survey of Scotland's young people, to which I return in the next chapter of this couplet[87].

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[84] Article 8, paragraph a, of *The Constitution of The Boys' Brigade* states that; 'The Brigade shall be composed of Companies. Each Company shall divide its Boys into groups on the basis of age. These groups shall be designated by the category of membership within them, namely Anchor Boys, Junior Section, Company Section and Seniors.' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 1).

[85] As intimated in the January 2004 issue of the *Gazette* the Brigade Executive at their meeting on 22nd–23rd November 2003 added the following sentence to the regulations as to age limits; 'However, with the agreement of the Company Captain, this can be the session in which he attains his 19th birthday' (The Boys' Brigade, 2004b: 5).

[86] Although 113 questionnaires were returned, this only represents 111 companies. One respondent completed the questionnaire but the Company has not met since 2000. As a result of this Company no longer being active these responses have been excluded. The second response to be excluded is on the basis of duplication. Recipients of the pilot survey were selected by the researcher and an opportunity for responses to this questionnaire to be integrated into the main survey was provided. As noted earlier, all five respondents to the pilot survey agreed to this. However, once the main survey was posted and returns received, this resulted in one Company being represented twice; the pilot survey response has therefore been excluded, but that from the Company Captain remains.

[87] Commissioned by Scotland's national youth agency, YouthLink Scotland, a major research survey 'Being Young in Scotland in 2003' conducted by MORI Scotland reported its main findings at YouthLink Scotland's annual conference in Edinburgh on 25th October 2003. The *Research Findings* document, subsequently circulated, noted that '25% of 11-16

It would, however, be advantageous to move away from the realm of averages and interrogate further the survey results. Histograms plotting the frequency of sections with a particular (grouped) number of boys are useful here (see Graph 6). Scrutiny of these charts not only confirms the overall trend identified in Table 19, but also suggests that the fall off in membership after age 15 is perhaps more pronounced in the *majority* of Companies than the average figures imply. Almost two-thirds (64.6%) of Senior Sections have between one and five members enrolled (see Graph 6.4) with 70.8% of Senior Sections having on average between one and five members attending their weekly meeting nights.

Before moving from examining the data on membership generated by the questionnaire survey, it would also be advantageous to disaggregate these statistics according to (respondent-selected) community type[88]. Although it should be stressed that answers to the questions 'which of the following terms would best describe the community is which your Company is located' and 'which of the following terms would best describe the community in which the majority of your membership live' – the latter being the question asked in the questionnaire – reveal a subtle variation in answer, Graph 9 illustrates that almost a third (30.3%) of Companies serve a 'town' membership.

Turning to the day-to-day details of the contemporary Scottish BB Company, Graph 8 shows that, as expected, given the constitutional requirement for BB Companies to be attached to a church, 77.9% of Companies use church hall accommodation for their weekly meetings, although school halls (11.7%), community centres (4.8%) and dedicated BB huts (2.6%) are also used, with 17 (15.3%) Companies using more than one type of premises to hold their weekly meetings. Moreover, the church halls are overwhelmingly owned by the Church of Scotland, to which over 90% of Companies in the survey are attached (see Graph 9).

Despite the first BB meeting night in 1883 being a Thursday (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 28), traditionally, the weekly meetings, often termed 'parade nights', were held on a Friday, at least partly because a Friday night is not a 'school night' and so, the Company can run later. The survey not only confirms this trend within Scotland (see Graph 10), but also highlights that this is particularly the case within Company and Senior Sections – the older age groups.

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year olds attend youth clubs or other clubs and 9% attend uniformed clubs. Attendance at clubs declines with age, with a third of 11-12 year olds attending but just one in five 16 year olds doing so' (YouthLink, 2003: 2).

[88] Question 25 of the questionnaire asked respondents to select 'which of the following terms would best describe the community in which the majority of your membership live?'. Respondents were given eight options; City Centre, Urban Priority Area, Housing Scheme, Suburban, Town, New Town, Rural: Commuter/dormitory area, Rural: Other areas. These eight categories were derived from a question used as part of the 1994 Scottish Church Census (see Brierley & Macdonald, 1995: 110-111) which would provide scope for integration and/or comparison with the results of this survey. Unfortunately, however, following communication with the Executive Director of Christian Research (the organisation responsible for the Scottish Church Census) on 11th July 2003, it was discovered that this question had been dropped from the 2002 Scottish Church Census. It was decided, however, not to change the question as it covered the major community types, gave a more accurate depiction than a simple urban/rural split and leaves open the possibility of integration with the 1994 Scottish Church Census. It should also be noted that in keeping with the analysis procedure adopted for the Scottish Church Census in instances where respondents ticked more than one community type, the more specific was used for analysis (e.g., if the respondent ticked Housing Scheme and Town, Housing Scheme was used, see Brierley & Macdonald, 1995: 104).

On average a Scottish BB Company is open for just over nine months of the year (9.2). Almost two-thirds of Companies (69) begin their session in September, with almost the same number (68) ending in May (see Figure 30). Only two of the 111 Companies represented operate all year. Throughout the session, however, Company activity is not confined to the 'parade night'. A traditional part of The BB has been a Bible class, yet the survey suggests that this activity – on a *separate* day – is no longer a standing feature of the Scottish BB Company. Less than half of the 111 Companies represented ran a Bible class (47.8%) and of those who did (of which two companies held twice-weekly meetings) 13 (23.6%) ran a dedicated BB Bible class on a Sunday, five (9.1%) encouraged attendance at church bible class, and, interestingly, 34 (61.3%) stated Bible class was part of the evening programme (see Table 21).

VIGNETTE ONE drew attention to the historical importance of the Boys' Room, also known as the Club Room, to the life of a BB Company. The survey reveals that this branch of work continues. Of the 111 Companies represented, one in five (*n*=24) operates a Boys' Room (see Table 22) with no particular day proving to be the most popular for its opening (yet it should be noted that each day of the week is represented; see Table 22). On average, this Club/Boys' Room is open for two hours (2.1 hours) on weekday evenings. Excluding one Company which opens its Boys' Room on a Saturday afternoon between 1:00pm and 4:00pm, the earliest weeknight opening is 4:00pm with the latest being open until 10:30pm.

The final Company activity, outwith the meeting night, about which information was requested was band work. Due to its military heritage and connections, the role of parading has been – and remains – an important feature of The BB's work. Bands are often central to this activity (see VIGNETTE TWO). Coincidentally, 24 of the 111 Companies represented operate a band with bugle bands proving to be the most popular (37.5%) of an admittedly varied selection (see Table 23). Although information on band size was not collected from three Companies[89], on average each band contained 12 boys (11.7).

Just as this section began by sketching an 'average' non-existent respondent, it would be fitting to close this discussion by sketching the average and equally non-existent Company. An average Captain would be responsible for a Company with at least three sections: Anchor Boys, Junior Section and Company Section, though only one in two would operate a dedicated Senior Section. Across the Sections the enrolment book would hold 54 names, although only 47 of these would turn up at the Church of Scotland church hall each week between the months of September and May. There, each Friday night, the Company's membership (which in almost one in three cases is likely to live in a town) would engage in the Company's activities. In one in two Companies the members would be expected to attend Bible class, and in over a quarter of all Companies, such a class would run on a Sunday. There would be a 22% chance our 'average'

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[89] As noted previously, an opportunity was provided in the pilot survey for responses to be included in the main survey assuming no major changes to the questionnaire. The addition of a question on band size was one of the few changes made to the questionnaire after the pilot survey. As a result, three pilot survey respondents whose Companies have bands were not asked this question.

Company ran a band (probably bugle) and exactly the same chance that a Boys' Room would be open during the week for a couple of hours.

Although contrived, this exercise is useful *precisely because* it is so contrived, forcefully highlighting that we are not considering average Companies, those carefully crafted by statistics, just as we are not dealing with average Captains, dehumanised through descriptive data. Instead, we are meeting with individuals possessing thoughts and feelings and, particularly, strong opinions about the movement in which they volunteer. Discussion now moves from the realm of caricature to the fine art of painting an impressionistic picture of these thoughts, feelings and, importantly for the present study, motivations behind respondents' voluntary involvement in The BB.

PAINTING MOTIVATIONS

Both responses to the questionnaire and subsequent interviews are now mixed together, forming the palette from which a picture of motivations is painted. Responses to the questionnaire survey serve as broad brush strokes which structure the composition. Detail is then added by considering interview material.

Turning first to consider the questionnaire, initial brushstrokes are painted through the application of content analysis to results from its thirteenth question; 'why are you a BB leader?'. Once conducted, a list of 31 separate (yet undoubtedly interlinked) motivations emerged (see Table 7).

Of the 111 respondents who answered the question, 40 (36%) noted somewhere in their response that they volunteered because doing so was a source of enjoyment. Exactly a third ($n=37$) stated that they volunteered to 'give something back'. Around a quarter (24.3%) included 'Christian outreach' as part of their response and around a fifth (19.8%) stated they 'believed in the organisation's object and basic principles'. Although perhaps less significant, with only around a tenth of respondents stating it as the motivation behind their volunteering, is a quintet of reasons, namely; 'Christian calling' (9.9%), 'preparing boys for the future' (9%), 'seeing and sharing in boys achievements' (9%), 'BB connection or background' (8.1.%) and, finally, 'shortage of leaders' (8.1%).

Following this analysis of questionnaire responses a task was devised for subsequent interviews to allow further in-depth exploration of those themes which emerged most frequently. In each interview, following the opportunity presented to the interviewee to answer the same open question asked in the questionnaire, they were handed a typed sheet with the 'top five' responses from the questionnaire analysis formatted as follows;

1	'I ENJOY IT!'

2	'I'M GIVING SOMETHING BACK.'

3	'TO LEAD BOYS TO CHRIST.'

4	'I BELIEVE IN THE ORGANISATION'S OBJECT.'

5	'IT'S MY CALLING FROM GOD.'

The process through which this list had been constructed was then explained to the interviewee: each heading was a quote from at least one respondent which best captured the sentiments of those coded under a similar theme. Interviewees were then provided with the opportunity to discuss their own feelings about the list constructed, often prompted by the interviewer to consider those with which they did or did not sympathise.

The following discussion of findings is structured by these 'top five' responses. Noticeably absent here, however, is the fourth most frequently noted response; 'I believe in the organisation's Object'. The importance of the Object which emerged in both questionnaire responses and later interviews demands that it receives more comprehensive attention elsewhere. To this end, CHAPTER FIVE, is devoted entirely to the place of the Object within The BB, and to the unique place it occupies in the minds and hearts of its current leadership. The picture of motivations painted here, then, will remain unfinished until the final strokes of detail are added at that chapter's close. Our first vigorous brushstroke, though, is applied by considering enjoyment.

Table 7 Content analysis: 'why are you a BB leader?'

	n	% (of 111)
1. Enjoyment/Fun	40	36.04
2. Giving something back	37	33.34
3. Christian outreach	27	24.32
4. Believe in organisations Object/basic principles	22	19.82
5. Christian calling/commitment	11	9.91
6. Seeing/sharing boys achievements	10	9.01
7. Preparing boys for the future	10	9.01
8. BB connection/background	9	8.12
9. Shortage of leaders	9	8.12
10. Duty	7	6.31
11. Son was due to join	6	5.40
12. Desire to help boys fulfil their potential	5	4.50
13. Fellowship with other officers	5	4.50
14. Natural/logical progression to become an officer	5	4.50
15. Extend life experiences/opportunities of young people	4	3.60
16. Provides sense of purpose and achievement	3	2.70
17. Filling local need	2	1.80
18. Keeps me young	2	1.80
19. To keep children off the streets	2	1.80
20. To counteract media 'panic' surrounding young people	2	1.80
21. Help with boys' development	2	1.80
22. Still relevant to today's boys	1	0.90
23. Furthering my Christian life	1	0.90
24. Captain saw officer potential in me as a young man	1	0.90
25. Antidote to a stressful job	1	0.90
26. Young people need purpose – The BB provides it	1	0.90
27. Respect of being an officer	1	0.90
28. Young people need adult role models	1	0.90
29. To encourage teamwork	1	0.90
30. To give young people a handle on leadership	1	0.90
31. Boys are easier to work with than girls!	1	0.90

'I ENJOY IT!'

That over a third of questionnaire respondents included enjoyment in their answer is not insignificant (see Table 7). In many cases this was expressed by respondents simply noting; 'it's great fun' (Q 00057; Q 00080) or 'I enjoy it!' (Q 00010; Q 00014; Q 00042; Q 00062; Q 00073; Q 00081). Delving a little deeper, however, it can be surmised that enjoyment – as a motivational force for continued involvement – can be sub-divided into two categories; i) enjoyment in the past (as boys/young men) and ii) enjoyment in the present (as leaders). Discussion turns first to the latter.

I ENJOY IT NOW

Some 'love' (Q 00032) 'the challenge' (Q 00051), perhaps, as in one case, 'of trying to bring the BB Object to boy[s] and young men' (Q 00099). Others enjoy 'the banter' (Q 00028), 'interaction and camaraderie with boys' (Q 00039) that comes through 'working with young people' (Q 00098). Worthy of note, however, is that for many it is not only the relationships forged with young people that is the source of their enjoyment but also 'the fellowship and banter between

officers' (Q 00050). Indeed, for one individual, fellowship and friendship are central in his response;

> FUN! – fourteen of my pals were all leaders together in the same Co[mpan]y for a long period of time (Q 00074; original capitalisation).

These sentiments are frequently echoed in later interviews. Typical are one leader's remarks stressing the importance of relationships in both the past and present;

> The Captain was one of [those people] who if he told you to jump through a window you would just have done it. You had total faith in him. So when it came to the time when my time was up as a boy and he asked 'do you fancy becoming an Officer?', he asked the five or six of us that had gone through the Company and we all decided to stay on. At that time it just seemed a natural progression, you didn't really think about it, deeper reasons. I quite enjoyed, I still enjoy the fellowship of your peers, and then it just seemed natural to help out (I 010).

Indeed, for this individual, the importance of the social aspect of The BB *for adults* takes on renewed importance when he later discusses the role that it played in moments of his life when he felt isolated: it becomes a familiar place to meet people in strange places;

> I worked in the Falkirk area, I was banking and I got moved to [laughs] the Shetland Isles, feeling a wee bit isolated and a wee bit lonely so there seemed to be value I suppose for me to make contact with the local church to say I was a BB Officer. That was an opportunity for me to meet folk. But [...] I didn't actually last in my appointment at the bank and I left so I never actually really got into the way of it. That's when I came back and rejoined The BB in Falkirk. Working through in the west of Scotland I got involved in a Company in Paisley Battalion. Again, I suppose for me it was a way in to meet folk, make a connection, because you go to a strange place, you've got to make an effort to meet new folk. [Later] without any pressure from anyone I got involved in a Company [here] (I 010).

Thus, although much of the following discussion revolves around the provision of activity for young people, and the relationships between adults and young people which are crucial in doing so, it would be remiss also not to consider The BB as an important site in *adult* social geographies. Indeed, consideration of the activities ongoing in a BB Company mirrors this understanding. For some, enjoyment stems from the *provision* of a service, and especially the 'organisation' (I 012) of activities or that in devising activities, it provides an outlet for creative expression;

> I enjoy the planning bit behind it. That maybe sounds a bit silly, but I do enjoy thinking about what we can do, what new ideas we can try out, what are the options that are available? So it gives me a vent for trying out new things, thinking up, making up wee quizzes, wee puzzles, wee games, and things like that. So from that point of view, that's a wee bit of personal gratification I get out of it (I 001).

Yet, for others, it is the *participation* that is enjoyed; 'it's not just the boys that enjoy camping and going up hills and playing badminton and watching football and that sort of thing. Sometimes it's an opportunity to do things that you wouldn't otherwise do' (I 021). Overwhelmingly, however, in both responses to the questionnaire survey and subsequent interviews enjoyment stems from seeing and sharing in boys' achievements such that *through* their achievements leaders gain a personal sense of achieving as well. Indeed, taken as a separate category, divorced from enjoyment, this is the sixth most frequently noted response with 9% of respondents including it in their answer (see Table 7). As one Officer notes; 'I enjoy and get satisfaction through the rapport with the boys and being part of their achievement and successes' (Q 00076). Evident here, enjoyment is often mixed with a feeling of satisfaction. Others typically state; 'I get a great deal of satisfaction from working with boys and seeing them learning and achieving within their capabilities' (Q 00009). When allowed time in later interviews to discuss these feelings at length, many Officers recollect anecdotes which illustrate this sense of *shared* achievement;

> [At] the district drill competition [...] they went up against a Company that had held this particular trophy for the last 16 years. And they did phenomenally well. I trained them but as I said to them it was nothing to do with me, it was that they put the effort [in] and managed to do it. Superb on the drill floor, working together as a team like you've never seen a team work before. And they came away with the cup. And the look of joy and satisfaction on those kids' faces to win that competition kept me going through to the inspection [laughs] (I 008).

As above, for some this sense of satisfaction – a source of enjoyment – stems not only from seeing and sharing in boys' achievements, but also in *helping* this development through their actions;

> I enjoy helping the boys try new things, achieve goals. I also enjoy it as you get to see them grow and develop into their own person and you get to help them figure this out by teaching them new skills and hobbies which may help them make their choices in life (Q 00023).

In a later interview, one Officer discussed at some length how helping an individual's development is a source of enjoyment. It is an anecdote which encapsulates much of the above discussion regarding not only seeing boys achieving (within their capabilities) but also both sharing in the achievement and helping boys to achieve;

> We often ask the question, why? But if you don't enjoy it you wouldn't do it. It's just sort of the first thing that springs to mind. [...] There's pride as well, you enjoy seeing the boys achieving things; be it their Queen's Badge, be it competitions or be it seeing them come on on a Friday night. One boy that's got severe learning difficulties and coordination difficulties, he was in the volleyball team the other week at the Battalion championships. He didn't do a lot but it's nice to see him participating. [We] take him along to the District sports and he has a go at the shot put because that's about his limit. He can run, and he did run, but he's got no chance of winning. But the boy's delighted that he's getting involved. The parents are delighted that we're taking him and showing an interest in him,

because he's got a lot of pressure at school and people at school picking on him for whatever reason. [...] So things like that, I enjoy (I 002).

Although implied in many of the above responses, for others enjoyment is about not just helping young people's development, but actively *shaping* their development, not merely in accordance with their ideas of what young men should be but also Christian ideals. As one respondent notes;

> Enjoyed BB as a boy and seemed natural to continue in organisation. This was the 'norm' at that time. As a young officer was increasingly challenged through training to engage with the aims and objectives of the BB as a valuable base in 'growing up'. My development as a Christian made it important to tell boys about Jesus – so they would be in an informed position to make their own decisions (Q 00102).

For others, these ideals are perhaps less explicit but are nevertheless implied through the use of metaphor rich with Christian resonance; 'To get satisfaction from guiding boys into their adulthood along the right road' (Q 00107). Interviewees frequently remark that 'we never see the finished article' (I 010), and, to carry forward this metaphor, they only walk with young people part of the way down their road into adulthood. In drawing this section to a close, then, another dimension of this sense of satisfaction should be teased out: that experienced on meeting a boy with whom they have walked in the past long after their paths last parted. Enjoyment here is a sense of achievement in seeing a boy become a man, and knowing their hand, at least in part, shaped that successful development; 'Over the years it is especially nice to come across boys who had been with you, to see how they have developed into life as a whole' (Q 00019). It is in later interviews that Officers often talked at length – and with some affection and pride – about 'ex-members';

> I got a bit out of it as a boy, and when I see some lads go through the ranks and you think you may have helped them in their development in some way, you get a wee bit of pleasure out of it. [...] You feel like you've helped some lads maybe who might have gone down a different path (I 009).

> It's particularly nice at Christmas when you get a lot of ex-boys coming back. I'm rarely up [at the pub], but [...] I remember New Year there I went to the toilet, and I'm sure my wife wondered where the blazes I'd gone to because I must have been about 20 minutes to half an hour in the toilet [laughs]. Everyone that came in there behind me they were all like 'Hello Mr. C[...], how's things going?' And the next thing you know, the whole, there was no way you could get in we were all [laughs]. And they're all, as it were, ex-pats of [the Company]. (I 017).

On this comedic note, the focus now switches from current enjoyment as leaders to enjoyment while they themselves were BB *members*.

I ENJOYED IT THEN

For the 90% of respondents who were members of The BB as boys enjoyment in the past emerges as an important motivation behind their current service. Indeed, it could be suggested that where

enjoyment now fuels their involvement, enjoyment in the past was the initial catalyst for them to continue to be involved upon leaving the Company. For example, one Officer who begins his response by noting; 'I enjoyed The BB movement as a boy' completes it with 'and it appeared natural to become Officer then Captain' (Q 00037). There is, however, more to the connection between enjoyment in the past and voluntary service in the present than 'logic' (Q 00101) or 'it seem[ing] to be a natural progression' (I 010). Behind this action lie other, often intimately personal motivations that arguably stem *from* enjoyment. Although lengthy, one anecdote highlights how just such a moment of enjoyment and personal achievement can lead to a lifetime of service;

> I really enjoyed it. The first night I joined the Life Boys they were looking for a bell boy. And the lady, Miss. Stewart, she was very particular about rhythm. They had this drill thing with the distance when you were doing the maze marching she wanted a boy that would ring this bell [...], the stresses on each bar, like, tang, te tang, te tang [...]. Well they got some lad to do that. But the flag had to go up the same way and be up three-quarters way through this. They always played Rule Britannia for this for some reason. You had to have it up by the end of the third line, take one pace back and salute. But it had to go up evenly. So the lad that was doing it would be an older lad in the Company. He had a go at the flag and it was near the top of the pole [by] the first note of the piano [laughs]. Wasn't impressed. Closing parade, somebody else had a go for lowering it, it came down too jerkily or something again. Next week, another boy was tried. No success. She was getting exasperated, and she said, 'does any boy here think that they can do this properly?' And bold me, and I was not a confident child [laughs], put my hand up. But I was musical, and I knew what [...] the problem was. I did that, oh, that was me made, that was me made, that was me made, that was me made. Managed it, as far as she was concerned exactly how it should be done. So naturally I took to the organisation, and they took to me (I 003).

Inextricably linked to enjoyment, however, is the second most frequently listed motivation for service, 'I'm giving something back' (see Table 7). Exemplifying this entanglement is one leader's remark when he writes;

> I enjoyed the activities that were offered to me as a boy in The Brigade and felt that going onto and becoming an Officer would enable me to give something back to the BB and hopefully give enjoyment to boys in the activities that we partake in as a company (Q 00030).

For others, it is 'self-confidence' (Q 00096), 'help and advice' (Q 00023), 'fun' (Q 00097), 'opportunities' (Q 00092) or a 'positive experience' (Q 00010) which were once received and are now given back. The idea that because current leaders received something from The BB as boys they now 'give something back' shines through a third (33.4%) of all responses (see Table 7). Crucially, though, this figure increases to 41.6% – becoming the most frequently noted response – if the thirteen female respondents and the ten individuals who were not members of The BB as a

boy are excluded (see APPENDIX 4, Table 1, Table 5), lending particular significance to its exploration.

'I'M GIVING SOMETHING BACK'

Enjoyment spurs action; it becomes a motivational force which both begins and sustains a period of voluntary service. There are, even so, distinct nuances in how respondents understand this process of giving back that demand further scrutiny.

For some it takes on a transactional quality, captured in one respondent's typical phrase 'pay some back' (Q 00022) and echoed by other respondents (Q 00007; Q 00016; Q 00017; Q 00082). The process is thus akin to repaying a debt which cannot be repaid; 'what the movement has given to me I can never repay. Being an officer is my way to give back' (Q 00071). Having received, however, some respondents view their gift of service through the lens of duty (see Table 7). Respondents typically and succinctly note, for example; 'Sense of duty. Giving back my time to BB' (Q 00005) or 'The BB provided a great deal for me as a boy and young man. I therefore feel a duty to put something back into the organisation' (Q 00100).

Although such an understanding initially appears pragmatic, on digging deeper personal relationships emerge as central to this sense of duty. For example, one Officer notes;

> When I joined the Company we had a very influential Company Captain. He was a big influence on my life. I think a lot of the ideals and things that he held firm has probably kept me going. In a number of cases, when you've had a difficult Friday night with problems you think 'why am I doing this?' I'm sure that all BB Officers go through that at that particular stage. It's very much like a rollercoaster; one minute you're up and one minute you're down. But I suppose for me, I've got a sense of duty, as I say, giving back my time to The BB for what it gave to me (I 011).

The gifts given, such as 'self-confidence' or 'fun', 'help and advice' or 'opportunities' (see above), are given in a relational context: *personally* received and *personally* given; '*the officers* gave me so much as a boy that I want to pass my experience, enthusiasm, etc... on' (Q 00081; added emphasis). Far from a linear transaction, this idea of giving something back is best conceived of as a cyclical, inter-generational 'process' in which relationships are central; a process not only of 'giving back' but also 'passing on'. Those who enjoyed The BB in their youth and gained something from their time in the movement will themselves be moved, be it through a 'sense of duty' or otherwise, to give back to a new generation of young men those gifts that they freely received from the generation before them. Presumably, the aim is to make the experience so enjoyable that current members are encouraged to become leaders themselves, thus ensuring the furtherance of the movement. Enjoyment, then, both ensures movement and is the state which is moved towards; both the means and the end.

But it is not the sole end. While acknowledged, the fact that The BB is an expressly Christian movement has hitherto remained un-investigated. Not only will consideration of

Christian thought and teaching force a degree of re-appraisal of the very 'concepts' of, for example, 'duty', thus far discussed, it also adds complexity to the emerging picture of motivations of those who volunteer in a movement whose Object is, in part, 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys'[90]. For example, hear one leader's reflections on this issue;

> I think the Object's important. I think it's important to take the boys to Jesus, yeah, yep. Whether I actually do that or not is something else. Probably more importantly I think that two ['I'm giving something back'] and three ['To lead boys to Christ'] are linked in a way, because although I'm giving something back it's very much in that context. If I was a club leader would I still be in it? Probably not (I 020).

These are sentiments echoed by another leader who as a young girl was involved in a BB band;

> My father, my brothers, and my husband have got so much back from The BB that there has to be a certain amount of, if they did it for me because of what they believed in, I have to show what I believe in by putting my time where they've put theirs. The number of people who chose to share time and talents and effort for me made a big impact. Nobody paid them, nobody made them, nobody said they had to. They chose to do that. Especially now when a lot of parents don't spend a lot of time with their children I think the potential impact you could make on youngsters, simply because they are choosing to do it, as opposed to well, if it's a teacher or policeman or whatever, you've got to do it. It's the choosing to do it. [...] You're giving of yourself for no reason other than you think it's a good thing to do. And I don't think you can really divorce that entirely from Christianity either. To me, it's a very important part of The BB is that it's all based on a Christian ethos. If I didn't enjoy it, I wouldn't do it. But on the other hand, I only discovered I was enjoying it because I was doing it. [...] But the sort of motivation behind it is, yeah you enjoy it, but I certainly couldn't do it if I didn't hope that what they were trying to do as far as the Christian motivation behind the whole BB ethos wasn't there. [...] I think you have to feel that there's a purpose behind what you're doing, and you have to believe in that purpose. [...] If you didn't enjoy it, as a rule you wouldn't do it – I wouldn't do it – but that's not the primary motivation (I 004).

The BB's 'Christian ethos' in terms of outreach and calling are therefore crucial additions (and disruptions) to the composition. Discussion turns first to the former.

'TO LEAD BOYS TO CHRIST.'

> My Christian beliefs were formed via the BB and I would like to pass this on to others (Q 00020).

Encapsulating the discussion above, central to this quotation is the idea of passing something – in this case, Christian belief – on to others. But, of this quotation – and indeed other answers which provide 'Christian outreach' as a reason for service – three crucial questions must be asked: i) *how*

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[90] The Object of The BB in full is, 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness' (see CHAPTER FIVE).

are these idea(l)s passed on?; ii) *why* do leaders feel it is important for them to volunteer to do this?, and; iii) *what* is the place of The BB in doing so? Each question will be considered in turn.

Although some leaders note 'I think it's an important part of the churches [*sic.*] outreach' (Q 00045) or 'It also gives me a chance to share the gospel' (Q 00050), for others it is the unique method of The BB as a 'vehicle for communicating the gospel' (Q 00112) which is crucial. For example:

> I believe in the BB method as the best way of introducing the Christian faith to today's youth (Q 00070).

The 'BB method' as a concept receives more detailed consideration in VIGNETTE TWO at the close of this chapter couplet. For the moment, however, what is crucial to state is that this 'method' incorporates both teaching and example, as expressed by the following respondent;

> To help young people to formulate their future in a Christ-like way. To teach them in as unobtrusive manner as possible – no 'bible thumping' or 'thou shalt nots' – but trying to show by example – warts and all – that you don't have to be an exceptional person or a 'soft touch' to love God and be proud to be a Christian (Q 00038).

This quotation typifying others not only aids our answering of the question *how*, but also partly answers the second question posed: *why* leaders feel it is important for them to spread these idea(l)s. Other answers do, however, emerge. Inspired by Christ's great commission, Officers feel it is vital to reach boys who would otherwise not hear the gospel message;

> You're hoping that you happen to maybe give some kids [for whom] it's their only involvement in church life [...] a glimmer about what church life's about. I've always felt that BB is a bridge between kids that have got no involvement in church activities and nothing at all (I 009).

Outreach is, by definition, about 'bridging distance', about moving closer, sentiments expressed by a leader who writes; 'Leading in Christian work is where I can get in close touch with young people. And lead them hopefully in the right direction' (Q 00035). Why leaders feel it is important to volunteer is, hence, so that they, by teaching and example, can do what they, by both definition and vocation, must do; lead boys 'to Christ' (Q 00077) 'along the right road' (Q 00107) into adulthood (Q 00110). For many, it is not about short-term conversion but 'about seeing it as a longer-term thing' (I 001). Indeed, Officers often reflect upon their failure at the former and commitment to the latter;

> 'To lead boys to Christ'. I have a problem with that one. The way I would see the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom, it's purely advancement. Because if you look on a Sunday morning there's very few boys that came through The BB are sitting in the church on a Sunday morning. That's a fact of life. So from that point of view I've failed. The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom, I see it as a stage where a person grows up and makes [up] his own mind, and all we do, we have them for a short

period of time between the years of 11 to 16 in which we can advance it. I personally don't think that I can say to a boy, or say right now I want you to join the church or whatever. We are a preparing stage. [...] We never see the finished article really (I 011).

It would be remiss, however, given earlier comments above concerning the re-appraisal of understandings in light of consideration of Christian thought and teaching, not to highlight the biblical foundation of such an approach. As one Officer writes;

I genuinely believe that the Object of the BB and all we attempt to do in the BB offers boys a really good start in life. We do not have success in bringing boys into church membership but that does not deter me. I take my lead from the parable of the sower – we are indeed planting good seed in our youth of today (Q 00079).

This vision of outreach not only stresses the importance of The BB as a 'stepping stone' (I 016) between the church and young men but also stresses choice. The act of commitment remains voluntary. The type of ground on which the seed falls is of the young man's choosing, just as he chooses whether to allow his ears to hear.

Turning away from Christian outreach, discussion moves to Christian calling as a motivational force behind leaders' volunteering. To carry forward the parable metaphor, discussion shifts from the act of sowing to those who sow the seed.

'IT'S MY CALLING FROM GOD.'

This succinct phrase – 'It's my calling from God' – is echoed, equally concisely, by several respondents (Q 00012; Q 00066; Q 00073): 'Why do I do it? [...] Because that is my Christian calling' (I 006). In many cases, though, when prompted to consider divine call, leaders struggle to express their feelings. They hesitate, 'don't know' (I 008) or are 'not quite sure';

I'm not quite sure it's my calling from God. I think if you gave me a list of them I could have probably ticked off, one, two four, three, [...] but I certainly wouldn't have ticked five at all. [...] I think you're there, I wouldn't say it's a calling, but, God puts you in the right place at the right time I think. But I certainly don't feel called to be there (I 001).

It's my calling from God, I've never been that kind of [...] how can I put it, I've never been that really kind of em [...] I'm struggling for words here, I don't know if it's ecclesiastical. I've never really thought, 'oh God's telling me to do this, I must do it'. It's not what drives me on. If I have to prepare for a competition or I have to prepare for a training weekend at Carronvale or I have to do whatever, I don't sit there thinking 'God wants me to do this'. It's never. I don't think like that (I 022).

That leaders have difficulty understanding their BB *service* in terms of call is an important finding, equally important as the fact that for some this service *is* understood through a sense of divine call. Call is then an important motivation. Interestingly, however, some leaders rationalise their own understanding of divine call by considering – and offering up for comparison – other avenues of

their own Christian service. Although for some their service stems directly from a sense of commitment, professed or otherwise, to the church (Q 00051; Q 00043; Q 00014; Q 00078), others equate call with an increased level of involvement in the church;

> It's my calling from God? I'm not sure if I could actually say that that would be 100% true. I think if that was the case I would be more involved in the ministry or something like that. That would be the way I would go on that one (I 011).

> Yeah, um, is it my calling from God? Oh, geez, em, maybe it is, in a way. I'm not sure I've thought about that before. I think the eldership was definitely a calling from God, and I think any Christian service I think is probably a calling from God (I 020).

For one Officer, rather than experiencing a call that *prompts* service, service is the *process* through which call is discerned;

> I always had this thing about I'll give up when I was 40. Then I went through a spell of saying 'what am I meant to do?' and then decided that, yeah, I think I should still keep doing the BB stuff. I got a very strong message that I felt I should still be doing this (I 012).

Now in the realms of personal experience, the limits of findings are being approached. The edge of the canvas on which the picture of motivations has been painted has been reached.

PAUSE. FOR TALK.

In the above discussion of call the intimately personal aspects of serving as a BB Officer are forcefully centred, and *how* leaders express their feelings become as, if not more, important than the feelings expressed. Before moving to conclude, I wish to pause briefly to reflect upon the way in which leaders talk about their BB involvement.

Even a cursory glance at the type of phrases used: 'It's in my blood' (I 017; I 023; I 009), 'It's in my genes' (I 019) reveals a closeness of association with the movement highlighting that The BB is not only something that they do but closely bound up with who they are. It is an intimate part of their identities as individuals: 'It's a way of life' (I 008);

> I think the two parts that I would imagine by having been in the BB and then carried on as a young leader, it's very much part of our life and habit. But it's now something that's within us so strongly that we see the need to do it, not just the want to do it. We see the need to work with boys to give boys, it sounds a bit grandiose, role models of regular living males and men who are not afraid to talk of love and Jesus, probably things that they don't hear other adults and males talking about. I'm a true believer that discipline and the love and the way we go around these things, it's a good way to work and live together and to lead boys. Although we've done it forever and it's a habit, it's more than that because my own leaders and myself, at times we put BB top priority. It takes over everything. Sometimes we get it out of sorts because probably our wives and partners will think

we've got it wrong, we'll put BB in front of almost everything, it's probably wrong to do that but at times that's what we do […] it's just so strong (I 024).

In closing, and bridging to the next chapter considering the community context, it is important to note the extent to which The BB has *personally* shaped individuals and how much that personal experience drives current service. At length, one Officer reveals;

As you can imagine, working in the Police you get all sorts of slagging for doing something like that and they all say well, 'why are you still there? You're a grown man now'. I've really stuck to the one answer and it's maybe not the right answer but it's what I've come up with.

I grew up in an area […] which was particularly rough. It's now riddled with drugs and crime and all the rest of it. It's a scheme basically for want of a better expression. But the Company I was in at that time were very very successful because all the, I wouldn't say all the decent guys, but all the guys that thought 'I could do better than this' went to it. And it was through the Centenary time and the Company was just 60, 70 strong in boys and it was just a fantastic time to be there. […] This might sound a bit over-dramatic, but it saved me from going down a line in my life that I could quite easily have done. I could quite easily have ended up in bother, gone to the jail with all of my friends and done everything else. I mean a guy I went to school and grew up, not next door to, but two doors down, he's in [Prison] now for murder just through drugs and things like that. I've never ever had the life of somebody say born in [the middle-class suburbs] and it's never really been an issue. I grew up in a particular scheme and I came out of it, and I put a lot of me coming out of it to The BB and the fellowship and the leadership that I got from certain Officers and individuals, who by encouraging and by kicking and screaming and dragging me made me the better person that I think I am now. A big part of it for me personally was that my parents split up when I was 13 and a half, going on 14, so I lived with my mother after that and my gran, so there was no man in the family, or in my life. I think I personally took to the BB [as …] a father figure to me and guys two or three year older than me all the way through to my Captain and Officers if I needed advice, or it was a case of 'you can't do that', they were the ones that told me you can't do that. In that kind of environment I had a lot, an awful lot, of respect for these people. I mean the guy who was my Captain then, is now our Battalion President and […] for want of a better expression, the sun shines out his backside; I can't see anything wrong with him. I know he's got faults like everybody else, but he pulled me through my teenage years as potentially a father figure. I suppose it's a very personal thing to me as to why I'm still there (I 021).

SUMMARY

Undoubtedly, enjoyment has emerged as a crucial motivation for Officers' voluntary service. Enjoyment as boys begins a period of service. Enjoyment as adults ensures this service continues. Overriding this enjoyment, however, is a desire to give back to a new generation of boys that which they received as boys. But, while enjoyment and giving something back are motivations, neither is the prime driver. Instead, it is the Christian ethos of the movement that underpins their service. Indeed, this takes on renewed significance when one considers that, for some, their reason to serve is a result of having experienced a divine call.

It should be remembered, however, that this picture of motivations is painted with the materials supplied when the *direct* question 'why are you a BB leader' is asked. Other, perhaps hidden, motivations can, still, be uncovered in the findings when respondents are asked to look at and paint their own pictures of their community and the young people for whom it is home; when, in the next chapter, they are *indirectly* asked to survey landscapes of youth.

WAYPOINT

>> CHAPTER FOUR draws on Officers' surveys of local landscapes of youth, considering the community in which their BB Company is situated in terms of challenge, contribution and need, to tease out the hidden motivations behind them volunteering to be BB Officers.

SURVEYING (MORAL) LANDSCAPES OF YOUTH: 'ACTIVITYSPACES' AND 'ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE'

> The flippant answer I give to all the Police is that, listen, I could've been on the street corner drinking Buckfast and doing drugs, it stopped me doing it. And now if I can stop ten kids a year doing it, I'm quite happy. That's the war I'm fighting, that's the war. If they don't come to the Company on a Friday night, I can guarantee you I go down the park and I find them standing with their mates. So the war I'm fighting is to prevent them doing that and bring them in here. I wouldn't for a minute preach that I'm there to bring them into Christianity. That is a, it's not a by-product, and I would never belittle The BB for that because as a product we do (I 021).

In the last chapter a picture was painted of the intimately personal reasons why adults volunteer as BB Officers. Exploration of *these* reasons, however, only moves an understanding of motivations so far. While rich in their detail, they are devoid of place; blind to the specific geographic setting – environmental, social, and cultural – within which the Company operates. The community context is not merely the *setting* for service, but an active *agent* in adults' motivation to serve.

SURVEYING THE BOYS' BRIGADE LEADERSHIP

This understanding emerges through close reading of findings from the questionnaire survey, and specifically its third section; 'Your Company and your community'. This section invited respondents to examine the communities served by their Company in terms of the *challenges* facing young people, and with reference to their Company's *contribution* to the community, through the following two open questions;

- What do you think are the **challenges** facing young people in the community your Company serves?
- What in your opinion does the presence of your BB Company **contribute** to your community? (original emphasis)

A third three-part question enquired about the perceived *needs* of young people in their community;

- Aside from the BB what other provision is made for the young people in your community?
- Would you regard this as adequate? (A 'Yes' or 'No' response was requested.)
- If no, what **need** does this provision not meet? (original emphasis).

Content analysis was conducted on the responses to each question. A composite survey of landscapes of youth is therefore constructed by piecing together the 113 individual observations from local viewpoints.

SURVEYING LANDSCAPES OF YOUTH

This chapter opened with the next portion of the quote which closed the last chapter; the intimately personal answer there is followed by the 'flippant' answer given here. Undoubtedly its core sentiment is one of challenge; i.e., those faced by this leader on a week-to-week basis as a BB Captain and those faced by the young people in the community in which his Company is located. It is contended, however, that the challenges drawn out by this Officer chime with those expressed by others who when completing the questionnaire were prompted to consider the challenges present for the young people in their communities.

CHALLENGES

Almost half (48.6%) of the 107 respondents who considered the challenges facing young people in their communities included a host of what could be termed 'negative influences' (Q 00088) in their answer (see Table 9). Moreover, 41 individuals (38.3%) included 'peer pressure' as part of their response. Interestingly, peer pressure took one of two forms: pressure *to* engage in these 'unacceptable behaviours' (Q 00007) or pressure *not to* join a BB Company (see Table 9). On closer scrutiny, these two issues are, however, perceived to be interrelated. As a result, discussion here focuses upon not only these answers in and of themselves, but the intermeshing of 'negative influences' and peer pressure, and, particularly, how leaders understand this interrelationship to 'take place' and play through particular social spaces.

Table 8 'Negative influences' identified by respondents

	n	% (of 52)
1. Drugs	51	98.1
2. Alcohol	32	61.5
3. Vandalism	10	19.2
4. Crime	4	7.7
5. Violence	2	3.8
6. Sex	2	3.8
7. Hooliganism	1	1.9
8. Solvent abuse	1	1.9

Table 9   Content analysis: 'what do you think are the challenges facing young people in the community your company serves?'

	n	% (of 107)
1. (Avoiding) negative influences	52	48.6
2. Peer pressure (to engage in 'unacceptable behaviour')	26	24.3
3. Peer pressure (not to join youth organisations)	22	20.6
4. Lack of recreational facilities	19	17.8
5. (Un)employment	16	14.9
6. Educational pressure (to perform well)	9	8.4
7. Poverty (financial constraints)	9	8.4
8. Boredom	9	8.4
9. Single-parent families	8	7.5
10. (Avoiding) hanging about street corners	7	6.5
11. Lack of parental interest/encouragement/supervision	6	5.6
12. Changing nature of (transitional) community	5	4.7
13. Staying out of 'trouble'	5	4.7
14. Amusing themselves constructively	4	3.7
15. Materialistic pressure (keep up to date with possessions)	3	2.8
16. Competing choices	3	2.8
17. Parental pressures (expectations)	2	1.9
18. Media pressure	2	1.9
19. Lack of commitment	2	1.9
20. Lack of respect for property	2	1.9
21. Keeping young people off the streets	2	1.9
22. Church not seen as relevant to today's young people	2	1.9
23. Friendship	2	1.9
24. Apathy	2	1.9
25. Gang violence	2	1.9
26. Pressure of affluence	1	0.9
27. Educational pressure (not to perform well)	1	0.9
28. Obtaining respect of community	1	0.9
29. Obtaining respect of peers	1	0.9
30. Pressure to 'fit in'	1	0.9
31. Lack of enthusiasm	1	0.9
32. Lack of police presence	1	0.9
33. Lack of positive outlets for their enthusiasm/talent	1	0.9
34. Limited adult male contact	1	0.9
35. Not safe at night	1	0.9
36. Finding safe leisure pursuits	1	0.9
37. To be open about being a Christian	1	0.9
38. To work for something worthwhile	1	0.9
39. Forming sustainable beliefs	1	0.9
40. Character building	1	0.9
41. Religious divide	1	0.9
42. Integration of local and private school pupils	1	0.9
43. Distance from city	1	0.9
44. Travel to/from meetings	1	0.9
45. Attractions of 'big city'	1	0.9
46. Trying to make a better life for themselves	1	0.9
47. Achievement in games and sport	1	0.9
48. An ageing community	1	0.9

Note: keen-eyed readers will have spotted that the numbers reported for each of the two types of peer pressure do not add to 41 as noted in the main text. This is due to the inability of the researcher when presented with the statement 'peer pressure' to assign it correctly to one or other form. This occurred on seven occasions and was combated by assigning each ambiguous response to both categories, an over-inflation corrected in the figure reported in the main text.

Disaggregating the 'negative influences' highlighted by respondents reveals that all bar one of the 52 respondents who chose to list a series of 'negative influences' included 'drug abuse' or 'drugs' somewhere on that list, whereas 32 note 'alcohol abuse' or 'drink' (see Table 8). Interestingly, however, in some more lengthy replies, these twin 'temptations' (Q 00009; Q 00025; Q 00059; Q 00091) are 'placed';

> Drugs and under-age drinking, hanging about street corners, vandalism (Q 00002).

> A culture of a certain age group to hang around the streets and unfortunately get involve in drug taking (Q 00046).

'Hanging about' in streets or parks is here cast in a negative light, intimately linked to drug abuse and vandalism, an interesting finding when set against those from research conducted by YouthLink Scotland. In this study 52% of 11-16 year olds spent time 'hanging about on the streets' (YouthLink, 2003: 2), yet what is significant, is that the report goes on to note that 'this activity is an important part of modern youth culture' (*ibid.*: 5); a markedly different – almost positive – framing of this activity from that of BB Officers. The understanding that emerges from YouthLink's contemporaneous study chimes with findings from academic explorations of the place of 'the street' in young people's everyday social geographies (see INTRODUCTION). Conceived of as a 'thirdspace' (Matthews *et al*, 2000) 'the street' is carved out of, implicitly adult, public space by young people and appropriated as an important site in which their unique microcultures are collectively formed and contested. Crucially, within this corpus 'hanging about', though often viewed negatively by adults from without, is viewed from within as an important social activity integral to these processes of identity (re)creation. Indeed, even activities such as 'drinking' could be construed as pivotal processes of identity performance as initiation 'rituals' or challenges to adult 'authority' which limits access to alcohol on the basis of biological age. Thus, not doing anything on the street is a crucial use of this social space, sustaining in various ways these microcultures. Yet, within the context of the present questionnaire survey findings, 'hanging about' is considered as a '*lack* of productive activity': simply 'being' in public space is construed negatively *contra* the value young people themselves imbue into this *activity* (Thomson and Philo, 2004). To Officers, 'hanging about' takes place at the confluence between peer pressure and those 'negative influences' identified above. They meet *through* boredom (see also Table 9);

> Boredom is the main problem. This leads to boys hanging around corners and being mischievous and open to being approached by others who wish to drink or use drugs pressuring the boys to do as they do and leading them into a life of crime (Q 00085).

Indeed, the chain of consequence from boredom, through peer pressure to 'negative influences' is best summarised by the bulleted list provided by one Officer in his response;

'Nothing to do!'

Peer pressure

Drugs + alcohol + sex (Q 00084; original format).

Also echoing the perception pinpointed above that 'hanging about' is not a constructive use of time, in a similar vein, a second Officer noted;

- Not to be distracted into hanging around street corners and potential for vandalism etc...

- Not to be sucked into illegal drugs

- To use their time constructively

- To face up to and overcome peer pressure pulling them towards any of the above (Q 00060).

If it can be read from these responses that leaders feel boys do not simply *end up* doing these negative activities, but are actively *pulled towards* them by peers, the challenge identified by leaders for boys is to 'overcome' such pressure;

Not to react to negative peer pressure to behave in an acceptable manner no matter what people of a similar age do (Q 00036).

In [our] area the challenge is not to get involved in crime, drugs and stealing, i.e., following the crowd (Q 00041).

What also emerges is almost a sense of *fear* for the easily led boy on the streets. While some respondents paint a picture of young people as 'easily led' (Q 00049), often attributing this to a 'lack of direction' (Q 00080), nowhere is this *fear* more evident than in responses to the question about young people's *needs* in their community.

NEEDS

As mentioned above, the enquiry as to the needs of the community consisted of three parts. The first section of the question asked leaders to outline the provision for young people which, importantly, *they know to be* existing in their community. The actual result of this exercise was not as important, however, as the fact that doing this prompted respondents to think about the range of provision on offer, enabling them to assess, in the next part of the question, whether or not they felt this provision was adequate. Of the 108 respondents who answered this question over a third (n=38; 35.2%) did so in the affirmative with almost two-thirds (n=69; 63.9%) stating that this provision was not adequate. One respondent answered both yes and no (0.9%).

The third part of the question asked those respondents (including the individual answering both yes and no, thus n=70) who stated provision was not adequate to assess what need this provision did not meet. After the application of content analysis (see Table 10) it emerged that leaders perceived need in terms of both *what* need was not met and *whose* need was not met.

Leaving the former to one side for the moment, it is discussion of the latter which advances the argument being constructed.

Table 10 Content analysis: 'If no, what provision does this not meet?'

	n	% (of 70)
Whose need is not met		
1. Those hanging about the streets	9	12.9
2. Older young men/teenagers	7	10.0
3. Those not in 'church family'	2	2.9
4. (More choices for) girls	2	2.9
5. The 'unclubbable'	2	2.9
6. Those who don't want to be uniformed	2	2.9
7. Young children	2	2.9
8. Non-sporting boys	1	1.4
9. Those not involved in organised groups	1	1.4
10. 8-12 year olds	1	1.4
What need is not met		
11. Sports facilities	9	12.9
12. Staff	6	8.6
13. Permanent youth club	5	7.1
14. Safe meeting areas	4	5.7
15. Occupying boys time	3	4.3
16. Opening up participation to all	3	4.3
17. Inexpensive activities	3	4.3
18. Drop-in café	3	4.3
19. Drama/arts activities	2	2.9
20. Not diverse enough	2	2.9
21. Funding needed	2	2.9
22. Integration of other white religious groups	2	2.9
23. Relaxed/'chilled' meeting place	2	2.9
24. No encouragement from good role models	1	1.4
25. Integration of ethnic groups	1	1.4
26. Distance – better facilities further away	1	1.4
27. Pre-/Post-school clubs	1	1.4
28. Change parental apathy allow kids to 'wander the streets'	1	1.4
29. Park space	1	1.4
30. Supervised meeting place	1	1.4
31. Discipline meeting place	1	1.4
32. Christian input	1	1.4
33. Beginners skill levels	1	1.4
34. Unsupervised meeting place	1	1.4

WHOSE *NEED IS NOT MET*

Nine of the 70 leaders (12.9%) who noted provision as inadequate stated that 'it does not meet the needs of those who hang around street corners and those who take alcohol and drugs' (Q 00029). The specific conflation of 'the street' with the 'street corner' is noteworthy, almost playing into the already existing negative construction of such spaces in the popular consciousness as one of licentiousness and temptation associated with the (importantly, imagined) geographies of prostitution. Indeed, this flags that though two Officers did expressly mention sex as a negative influence, it is a silent 'other' throughout much of the material here; the outcome of drugs and drink, presumably dulling moral judgement and self-control. Of course, this construction of the

street corner is also more pragmatic: it is here where young people's presence would be most visible, the hidden geographies of parks, rural woodlands and urban wastelands highlighted within the academic literature as equally central to young people's everyday social geographies are seldom deployed in the discursive construction of 'the street' as negative by BB Officers. This proves interesting as it is doubtful that the 'negative influences' placed on 'the street' would in reality take place on 'the street' *given this visibility by adults*, particularly in light of legislative powers to disperse groups of young people 'hanging about' in response to community requests (see INTRODUCTION). 'The street' is hence constructed as a moral location: the site of activity in place that Officers perceive young people ought not to engage in. But it is also considered that 'for those not attracted to formal youth organisations the *only alternatives* are a specialist club or the 'street corner' (Q 00066; added emphasis). That there is no available alternative provision that Officers feel would appeal to those drawn to 'the street' gains significance when it is considered that the range of provision for young people respondents initially considered in the first part of the question will have *included* their own contribution to the community through running a BB Company. As one leader wrote;

> The number of youths creating trouble and vandalising the community suggest we are not providing adequate facilities to occupy them usefully (Q 00067).

This now noted, before moving to consider the shape of this contribution, it is valuable to pause and reflect upon *what* needs leaders identify as having not been met – either by themselves or others – in their communities.

WHAT *NEED IS NOT MET*

Detailed scrutiny of the findings from the content analysis conducted reveals three main needs: i) sports facilities; ii) staff, and; iii) a permanent youth club (see Table 11).

Nine of the seventy respondents (12.9%) identified sports facilities as an important need (although it should be noted that two leaders highlighted the need for provision for non-sporting boys; see Table 10). Staffing also proved to be an important concern for six respondents (8.6%). This was not only in terms of volunteers for youth organisations (Q 00057; Q 00100), but also 'professional' (Q 00072) and 'experienced' (Q 00058) youth workers (Q 00021). Indeed, one leader placed responsibility for funding this provision squarely at the feet of central government;

> More substantial funding from central government not only to fund new infrastructure but fund full-time provision of staff to properly run and manage activities in the area (Q 00105).

Yet, while staffing does emerge as important, so too does what the above respondent terms 'infrastructure' – the places where young people can meet. Some leaders see this provision taking the specific form of a, presumably staffed, 'permanent youth club' or 'drop-in café', whereas others see the need in terms of a 'safe' (Q 00002; Q 00016; Q 00042), 'supervised' (Q 00062) and

'relaxed' environment (Q 00093) for young people to meet together. In saying this, however, one leader supported the need in his community to be;

> Somewhere for youths to meet with no or minimal adult supervision – a highly unlikely possibility! (Q 00107).

Clearly, the nature of this provision is not that which is offered by a BB Company. Yet, what is important to stress is that this provision is offered within the context of the construction of 'the street' discussed above. Yet, the construction of 'the street' which serves in part as a motivation for adults' service rests on the internalisation of a distinct mythology surrounding the street, and particularly, the street corner as a moral location devoid of productive activity and always a negative influence on young people's social development. Notwithstanding the fact that an alternative (academically guided) understanding may be unknown to these Officers, the possibility that the street is instead a crucial site where identities are forged, boundaries tested, and lessons in growing up learned, is not entertained. Indeed, it is noteworthy that when some Officers *do* explore the value of simply 'being' young people in place – as evidenced in the above quotation – this is to happen in spaces specifically designed for this purpose; those provided by adults, not carved out by young people.

The focus now turns, then, to consider The BB in this context of provision and, specifically, the *contribution* leaders perceive the presence of their Company makes to their local community.

CONTRIBUTION

Despite the fact that language was carefully crafted in the question to stress the physical presence of the Company – almost as a proxy for 'space' – it is interesting to note that nine respondents (8.3%) saw their Company's contribution to their community solely in terms of what the Company, or, rather, what the boys in the Company, *do for* those in the community, in terms of community *work* (for their 'community' badge[91]) or fundraising activities (e.g., providing a band for gala days, Christmas fair, Christmas card delivery service). Indeed, leaders commented that not only does this activity show the church in a good light, but also 'demonstrates 'good' qualities in boys' (Q 00086), serving as a challenge to popular (negative) ideas about young people; 'it shows that 'young men' aren't all 'yobs' all of the time!!' (Q 00073).

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[91] After gaining either one or both 'Target' badges in their first year in Company Section, boys embark upon the 'Get the Credit' award scheme. Under this scheme each boy works towards five separate badges (Adventure, Community, Leadership, Interests, Physical). Each badge can be obtained at three 'grades' denoted by the badge itself and two 'flashes' – one red circle, one blue octagon which surround the badges – when worn), and is obtained by gaining two 'credits' at the relevant grade under the relevant badge heading, e.g., expedition and wayfaring credits for their adventure badge, drill and Christian faith credits for their leadership badge. Upon completion of the award scheme (and when certain other [e.g., age] criteria are met) boys are eligible for their President's Badge, which also allows them to begin work on their Queen's Badge, the highest award available in The BB.

Table 11   Content analysis: 'what in your opinion does the presence of your BB company contribute to your community?'

	n	% (of 108)
1. Christian input/guidance/support/connection	22	20.4
2. A safe environment	17	15.7
3. Community work	15	13.9
4. Opportunity to engage in a variety of activities	14	13.0
5. Somewhere to be on a week night	11	10.2
6. An alternative to 'risky behaviours' (see Table 8)	10	9.3
7. A structured programme of activities	9	8.4
8. Group interaction and teambuilding	9	8.4
9. A meeting place for young people	8	7.4
10. Church attendance	8	7.4
11. Good citizenship	6	5.6
12. Fundraising	6	5.6
13. A stable environment	5	4.6
14. A focal point	5	4.6
15. Opportunity to learn new/develop skills	4	3.7
16. A sense of belonging	4	3.7
17. Shows church in a positive light	4	3.7
18. Well-established reliable organisation	4	3.7
19. An outlet for young male energy	3	2.8
20. Good role models	3	2.8
21. Social leveller	3	2.8
22. A Christian environment	2	1.8
23. A caring environment	2	1.8
24. A sense of identity	2	1.8
25. Teaches the benefits of trying to live a good life	2	1.8
26. Gives young people something to aim for/achieve	2	1.8
27. Supports schools/parents	2	1.8
28. A grounding in leadership	1	0.9
29. Only holiday opportunity for poorer young people	1	0.9
30. A sense of togetherness	1	0.9
31. Personal support for boys	1	0.9
32. Life-long friendship	1	0.9
33. Friendship between different religions	1	0.9
34. Teaches moral values	1	0.9
35. Shows young people in a good light	1	0.9
36. Shows young people there are people who care	1	0.9
37. Shows young people a better way to live their lives	1	0.9
38. Complements other youth work in the area	1	0.9
39. Helps boys with learning difficulties	1	0.9
40. Brings together young people/families	1	0.9

Its inclusion as part of other respondents' answers makes 'community work' the third most frequently noted response (see Table 11). Only the fact that the Company is identified as safe and Christian provides an element recurring more often in leaders' responses (15.7% and 20.4%, respectively). These dimensions are considered in turn.

'A SAFE ENVIRONMENT'

The BB Company is frequently considered to be a 'safe, caring community' (Q 00076) where young people can meet, learn and play together as a group (Q 00007; Q 00043; Q 00055; Q 00086). The importance of 'an environment where young people can feel safe and nurtured'

(Q 00011) was also noted. Others commented that the space is a 'safe non parent zone' (Q 00084). In a related point, one leader wrote;

> Many of the families appreciate that their sons are in a safe and caring environment when they are at The BB. Drugs are a big issue in our village and being a former senior police officer I have seen first hand the devastation that their misuse can cause. Fortunately our Company of The BB are free from this curse (fingers crossed) (Q 00038).

Here the context of these remarks is crucial. In his response this leader juxtaposes the safety inside the Company with the danger of drugs, a feature of the outside environment; 'our village'. Frequently in responses, (moral) danger placed *outside* – on street corners or parks in groups of peers – is set against safety placed *inside* The BB Company (Q 00090) likened by some to a 'haven';

> It provides a safe haven for boys in [our town] and they learn the Christian way of life. Learn to keep away from the dangers in life (Q 00090).

But what is highlighted here is that it is not only presence in this cocoon-like space for a defined period of time which provides safety by offering a temporary *distraction* to 'the streets', but that what can be achieved in this space through its Christian ethos provides a permanent *defence* against 'the streets'; countering not only the pressure which pulls them towards 'the streets' and the negative activities taking place there, but also all 'dangers in life'. It is a diversion in both senses of the word; a temporary detour from the material space of the street mythically constructed, and a longer-term filling in of time with constructive activity to prevent falling into activity perceived to be both unproductive and physically and spiritually harmful. In light of the latter, then, the Christian nature of this space demands attention.

'ALL WITHIN A CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT'

Although only two respondents expressly made use of the phrase 'Christian environment' in their answers (Q 00025; Q 00060), a fifth (20.4%) of the respondents not only echoed the sentiments that this phrase conveys but also proceeded to sketch some 'features' of this environment. For some, The BB is an environment for learning about Christ, perhaps with a hope of encouraging church membership;

> It offers the boys within the community the opportunity to join with other boys in learning of the Lord and his work and the joy it can bring (Q 00072).

> Provides an interest for young people. At same time trying to get them to learn about God. Hopefully at some time when they are older they become members of a church (Q 00104).

Implicit in this last quotation, yet made explicit in other answers, is that Officers feel The BB environment to be conducive to the development of *life-long* Christian principles;

> For at least part of the week many of our boys experience some love and interest. The majority come from non-church going families, so hopefully we can influence them to follow Christian principles in their development (Q 00032).

Others, highlighting the personal *relationship* between boy and leader, stress aspects of Christian 'support' (Q 00012; Q 00066; Q 00082) and/or 'guidance' (Q 00075; Q 00082). For example, one leader notes;

> We offer a structured programme of activities allowing boys to develop in [a] safe environment. We try to provide spiritual and moral guidance (Q 00009).

And here, safety in the sense of a *spiritual* safety, also begins to emerge, with one Officer suggesting The BB provides a 'Safe environment for Christian growth among the young' (Q 00006). What also shines through some responses, however, is the underpinning reason *why* leaders feel it is important to engender these principles in the young. Indeed, this in part supports discussion in the previous chapter surrounding their motivation to serve. At least part of the answer lies in showing boys an alternative, stable and, in their minds, 'better', way to live their lives, equipping them with a 'moral baseline' from which decisions can be made and the challenges which surround them tackled. The BB is, therefore, a form of outreach – *mission* – in keeping with the roots of the movement;

> We provide shelter, warm[th], safety and an overwhelming need to keep these lads from evil temptations and the chance to lead their lives without crime, drugs or alcohol and brings them closer to Christ for the sake of the next generation (Q 00085).

Indeed, perhaps these sentiments can be succinctly summarised in a simple quotation from one Officer; 'Maintain a high moral standard in the face of substantial peer pressure' (Q 00070).

Thus far, peer pressure has only been considered as a centripetal force – pulling towards the negative influences on 'the streets'. Yet, as mentioned above, leaders also consider it to have centrifugal properties, pulling boys away from The BB Company.

CENTRIFUGAL PEER PRESSURE

Centrifugal peer pressure is often attributed to The BB's image. Some leaders apportion this pressure to the 'uncool' nature of the 'Christian' (Q 00023), 'uniformed' (Q 00025) organisation (Q 00001; Q 00046; Q 00106) with a lack of 'street cred' (Q 00054). Indeed, in a later interview one Officer commented;

> It's interesting, I use public transport all the time to get around and I sometimes might meet the boys on the bus and they're 'huh, don't say I'm in the BBs' because it's not what you do with your pals. You'll get your head kicked in, that's the message I was getting there. [...] So I think maybe there are connotations associated with the BB. [...] It's not what the boys want to be identified with. Certainly

none of my boys come down in uniform. They all come down casually and then get changed in the church when they come down. In our day you'd just turn up in uniform on a Friday night. So I think times have changed. It's not seen as a cool place to go and I'm not sure if that's tying in with expectations about what it means or if their pals kind of expect them to be really really holy (I 001).

Others consider this centrifugal pressure to operate not only with reference to an impression of The BB from the outside, but also in relation to the experience of being in The BB. Boys face 'derision' (Q 00091), 'harassment' (Q 00093) or 'bullying' (Q 00106) as a result of membership of the movement. Interestingly, in a later interview one Officer recounted an anecdote which not only highlights how this experience changes with age, but also stresses how it is identification with The BB which leads to such pressure;

Although they want to be part of The BB they don't want to be seen in The BB. I find that when we're out in the mini-bus. 'Don't go up that road somebody'll see us'. Or, 'do you need to put on the signs?' We've got magnetic signs on the bus. We don't always put them on when it's just sitting in the street. But we get that [...] from the older ones whereas the younger ones are 'oh look at me I'm in the BB'. So I don't know how that comes back, because they're there and they obviously want to be part of The BB, but there's a sort of shyness, or a lack of pride in some way (I 002).

In these accounts 'the street' returns to do altogether different metaphorical work. Though construed as being a negative space by adult Officers, for boys it is perceived in a positive light. Yet, being on the street as a 'BB boy' is not 'cool', it undercuts their 'street cred'. Bodies clearly identifiable with The BB – in uniform or branded mini-bus – are decidedly 'out of place' prompting feelings of embarrassment. A more nuanced understanding, then, recognises the street as a more complex construction with respect to its importance to Officers' motivations. At one and the same time it is a place they do not want boys to be because of the potential dangers perceived to exist *and* a place they wish boys to have the competence and confidence to navigate *as* 'BB boys' able to resist the temptations which abound. Yet, this neglects to consider young peoples' own appropriation of both spaces to actively shape their own construction of their (fractured) self out of competing identities. These understandings are unrecoverable in the material under consideration here. Instead, returning to the Officers'-eye view, The BB is best considered as an alternative 'activityspace'.

AN ALTERNATIVE 'ACTIVITYSPACE'

What is beginning to take shape is an understanding of The BB as an alternative to 'the street'. Indeed, several respondents answered the question about contribution by simply stating 'alternative to above', referring back to their answer to the first question about challenges where they set out a series of 'risky behaviours' (Q 00002; Q 00094; Q 00101; see also Table 11). Others note;

We give boys an outlet to have new experiences and try new things. We teach them the dangers of drugs/drink amongst other items we teach. We teach them the benefits of trying to live a good life and adhering to the BB motto and Object (Q 00023).

The importance of the space of The BB Company as an alternative to that of 'the street' is further stressed when it is considered that this is not only implied through many of the responses already quoted, but made explicit when the fifth most frequently noted *contribution* identified in Table 11 – 'somewhere to be on a week night' – is disaggregated. Seven of the 11 respondents supplemented these sentiments with the phrase 'taking or keeping boys off the streets'. For example; 'It keeps the boys off the streets on a Friday night and hopefully helps to guide the boys on the right path in life' (Q 00062).

It has already been noted that 'risky behaviours' are placed on 'the street'; as such 'the street' in the minds of the respondents becomes an 'activityspace'[92] associated with danger, threatening the moral and spiritual development of young people. As set out above, leaders believe it is the *activities* which *tempt*, and negatively constructed centripetal peer pressure from those who already engage in such activities which *pull* young people towards them. In the minds of the respondents, these activities can only be countered by providing an alternative (safe, Christian) 'activityspace'. The rationale behind the provision of a BB Company, then, is the inversion of the perceived operation of 'the street'. Leaders provide activities which *attract* young people to the Company where, through building a team, centripetal peer pressure becomes a positive force which encourages them to stay. That is, an 'atmospheric pressure' fostered through the space itself and the activities (and disciplines) integral to it.

But, as already noted, this atmospheric pressure is not confined to the physical, contained space of The BB Company. It escapes. And shields. It is carried with young people along whichever path in life they choose to walk. At least, this is the *desired* outcome. As noted above, when the 'BB boy' and 'the street' meet, though Officers *hope* this leads to their competence in the street, the clash of these two identities frequently throws up embarrassment as a response, especially if their BB identity is visibly marked in some way. It is important to stress, then, that young people negotiate these spaces in far more complex ways than the ways in which 'the street' and the BB Company are constructed as motivations for Officers' service. Consequently, it is fitting to close with one final, albeit lengthy, quotation from an adult – once 'BB boy' – recounting his own navigation. By stressing the choice faced by this individual, his own agency in deciding between one path and its alternative, the role The BB plays in shaping this individual's identity is evidenced;

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[92] This term has been adopted, without hyphenating its component parts, as it stresses that (the meaning of) the space is intimately bound to the activities which occur within it, tapping into a broader notion that (the meaning of) space is (re)created through action(s). This is not to deny, however, that other meanings attach to the particular places where the activity occurs (e.g., a church hall being a *Christian* place), and may play back upon meanings ascribed to 'BB space'. It is, however, a term which best reflects respondents' understanding of the 'BB space' which emerges through close reading of the findings from the questionnaire survey.

I know this'll be an atypical answer, I'm sorry about this. I lived in a housing scheme, it wasn't hugely rough but it wasn't soft either. I mean you had to stand up for yourself. It turned out that just at that time some people had moved in and some people that had been brought up there were pretty violent. Drugs weren't really so much an issue. Girls were a big issue. Girls were a huge attraction. [...] Alcohol wasn't really a big thing. But there was another area [...] which was a much harder area. Unfortunately these two [...] secondary schools would have to play cricket against each other [...] which usually ended up [with] someone getting smashed across the skull with a cricket stump or something, some running battle or something. So they formed gangs. [...] Now in 1978 when Scotland [national football team] went to Argentina [...] there was a crowd of way over two hundred there that night just hanging about the chip shop, the pub. Now, I think some of them had been drinking, some under-age drinking. We had come off a bus, myself and this other guy. I mean we knew a lot of people there and it was just something I sensed. [...] We just felt there was something about the crowd that was uneasy and I said to this guy let's just not go to the [chip shop] let's go, leg it from here. And we did. We just ran down the road. But that night they had a riot. They closed off the housing estate. They'd stabbed a policeman who was very lucky, apparently, to keep his life. They overturned a police car, set it on fire, and a fire appliance had to be abandoned, I mean it was just wrecked. A policeman ran into somebody's house, slammed the door with this crowd outside hurling stones through the window. There was two paths really: there was The BB there, and there was some kids getting to the stage of 'why don't you junk it?' Now I could easily have gone that path and said 'I am one of them, I'm one of the guys here', because I could take you on, I could stand up for myself, that was ok. But, I didn't. I stayed with The BB. I never really went back from that night. I thought these guys are just, I just avoided them like the plague. Same year I decided to become an Officer and join the church. I had my Queen's Badge, so I wasn't a bad kid, but I recognised the potential there for saying, if it hadn't been for The BB, how easy would it have been? What else would I have done? I would have been one of a mob. So the start in life I got from The BB, even though it was from when I was 12, and making model aeroplanes and going to camp and all these sort of other things that were good fun, undoubtedly for me its most important stage came in later years in life when I was able to say 'we can take guys like you and drag you back from the brink', and say 'this is not who you want to be'. So I think for me it's about putting something back. It's not a payback thing, but I recognise some of the situations, and you might say, well I've got some sort of life experience if these guys ever face that or they need some help, I might be able to give something to them. That's why I do it. And I also believe that my experience of the church and of coming to God through The BB was a very real one. It wasn't some sort of Damascus Road conversion, I think it was a steady, gradual build up of people around about me saying 'this is how I live my life. Ok, but don't go there, it's ok, just calm down, cool down and just forgive and forget'. That has been a constant lesson throughout my life I think, people who have given up their time. And that's I think what I'm hoping I'm trying to do just now. Do the same thing. These are the examples, and that's it. And I think that's what Jesus and the disciples did as well. He didn't have to heal a woman. He didn't have to do anything (I 020).

The closing lines of this quotation return to the concerns of this chapter couplet. But, just as the Christian ethos of The BB provides Officers with a primary *motivation* to serve, they also have a *model* for voluntary service: Christ.

SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to uncover hidden motivations behind BB Officers' provision of BB Companies by encouraging them to survey local landscapes of youth in terms of challenges, contribution and need. It is argued that, when each element of their composition is combined, the completed picture unveiled is a moral landscape.

It almost goes without saying that the textual space of each of the 113 questionnaires returned is itself a moral geography of sorts, revealing its author's own position with regard to how the family, society and, importantly, young people ought (not) to be. These individual, intimately personal, landscapes have undoubtedly received less attention here, for what is most exciting is that when taken together the responses from these questionnaires *reveal* a 'real-world' moral coding of the material spaces of these communities, a landscape dotted with the 'activityspaces' – be it 'the street' or The BB Company – where leaders feel young people ought (not) to be.

However, as discussed, this moral geography is itself predicated upon the delineation of an immoral geography, of the streets and, to a lesser degree, the parks where the risky activities perceived to be detrimental to young people's social and spiritual development 'take place'. Indeed, discursive constructions of 'the street' takes on renewed significance in feeding into the substantive realisation of The BB Company. Yet crucially, also revealed is the fact that the pressure dynamics that are perceived to underpin the operation of 'the street' as an 'activityspace' are inverted in the Company; peer pressure tempting gives way to atmospheric pressure binding.

WAYPOINT

>> VIGNETTE TWO provides a welcome interruption to the argument being constructed and continues the series of studies of The BB outwith the hall on a weekday evening by turning to consider parades as communicative spatial practices.

>> CHAPTER FIVE moves from this discussion of motivations to consider the actions which underpin the operation of a BB Company, in particular, the practices and disciplines which foster the atmospheric pressure introduced here. Before turning to consider leaders' discussion of the operation of those practices and disciplines 'on the ground' in CHAPTER SIX, the structuring theory behind such actions – the BB Object – will be discussed in CHAPTER FIVE.

NO MORE PARADES? MOVEMENT AND MUSIC, MINISTERS AND (MIXED) MESSAGES

What is that music I hear in the street?

What is the tune that they are playing?

It gets in my head, and it gets in my feet,

What's more it looks to me like staying.

Ev'ry one pours out at the doors,

Here come the Boys in fours!

When you're marching with the band,

Oh, it's gorgeous and it's grand;

For you feel a perfect hero

When the crowds call out "Cheero!"

Don't be frightened of the noise,

We're just jolly B.B. Boys!

Come along and walk beside us,

As we're marching with the band!

Youngsters look on as their brothers go by

Steadily shoulder to shoulder.

They feel like cheering, but then want to cry,

They can't join up until they're older.

Make haste and grow, then, don't you know,

Out with the Boys you'll go!

'Marching with the Band' (*The Boys' Brigade Song Book*, no date: 33)

Four years after leaving Glasgow, 'The Boys' Brigade Battalion' was 'officially welcomed' (Chalmers, 1930: 145) back to the city. On November 18th 1919 250 men, native to Glasgow, arrived under the command of Colonel Kyle to take part in a 'victory march' (see Plate 8). Of the occasion Chalmers writes:

Some of the demobilised men of the unit marched alongside the pipe band as the cadre went through the streets. Lunch was served to the cadre in the banqueting hall of the City Chambers (1930: 145).

Plate 8 16th HLI Victory March, 18th November 1919

Source: Chalmers, 1930: between 144 and 145

Coincidentally, each year this act is repeated, not to celebrate victory in war, but boys' achievement of their Queen's Badge, the highest award in The BB. For many boys in Glasgow Companies this parade from the city's Blythswood Square to the City Chambers in George Square on a May evening is their final act in the movement (see Figure 3). More than eighty years of history separate these two parades, yet spatially they are connected. Moreover, they highlight that parading is not only an important part of The BB's history but an integral part of its present.

At the close of VIGNETTE ONE it was suggested that The BB can not only be brought into existence through the reconfiguration of physical space as in the Recreation Hut, but also created outwith – and without – these spaces; it can, for example, exist in a trench. Equally, The BB exists as a movement, on the move; it exists on parade.

Building on the theoretical foundation laid down in the first vignette, this 'interruption' turns to look specifically at The BB 'on parade'. Comments from current Officers will provide insight into the contemporary understanding of parades, especially regarding their purpose. Before turning to the *routes* of parades, however, a first step must be taken into history.

ROOTS

On 27th October 1854 in their home of Pennyland House near the small town of Thurso – itself just a few miles from Dunnet Head, the most northerly point on the UK mainland – Harriet and David

Smith celebrated the birth of their first child[93]. William was born in an area where a military career was the only realistic alternative to the crofting way of life (Fraser, 1980: 95), and into a family steeped in military history. In 1814 his grandfather – and namesake – reached the rank of Lieutenant in the 78th Highland Regiment of Foot, having been commissioned in 1810 and promoted to Adjutant three years later (*ibid.*). His father, an ensign during the 1849-50 Kaffir War, returned to join the Volunteer Artillery Corps, ultimately earning the rank of Major (*ibid.*). It is therefore unsurprising that, following his father's death while on a business trip to Swatow, China in 1868 (*ibid.*: 96) and the thirteen year-old William's subsequent move to the West-End home of his uncle, Alexander Fraser, a successful Glasgow merchant (*ibid.*: 97), he should be attracted to one of the many strong Volunteer Regiments in the city (Springhall *et al.*, 1983: 31). Although it has been suggested that William's 'military career' started much earlier with 'older people in Thurso who knew the founder [...] recall[ing] how around the year 1865, when but a lad of 11 years old, Willie Smith formed a core of local boys into 'a company' for drill and marching' (Birch, 1959: 13), it is his years in the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers that provided Smith with his training in soldiering.

After enlisting in 1874 William quickly progressed through the ranks, moving from Lance Corporal and then onto Sergeant in 1876 before rising to the position of second Lieutenant of 'L' Company the following year (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 31). By April 1881 he had reached the rank of full Lieutenant, yet had to resign in December due to the pressures of business (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 31). William's enlistment caused much chagrin with his uncle, who had deeply held pacifist views, which ultimately forced William to go his own way in the business world and a personal separation not reconciled until 1895 (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 30). Yet, it was a personal experience which, in shaping an individual, also shaped the form of the movement he went on to found in 1883. As a Sunday school teacher faced with indiscipline, the discipline to which he turned was that he knew, that practiced and honed in the volunteer regiment, that of the military, and, particularly, that achieved through drill. Mythologised in the folklore of the movement is the moment of its conception. Bringing to mind Drummond's own 'fiction' (see INTRODUCTION), Gibbon notes:

> As is usual in Sunday schools, and perhaps in Mission schools especially, much of the time that should have been given to teaching was wasted in efforts to secure order and attention. The boys attended because they were sent by their parents, and their lack of interest was obvious. The man or woman of exceptional personality will always interest and control boys or girls. Unfortunately few of us possess this great gift. Smith had it, but most of the boys' classes in the school declined to be controlled, and had not even a nodding acquaintance with discipline.
>
> 'Can't you make some use of your Volunteer methods in the Sunday School?' said his [business] partner, Findlay, one day when Smith was deploring the unsatisfactory state of affairs.

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[93] William was the first of four children and he had two brothers, Donald and David, and a sister Kate (Fraser, 1980: 93).

The question may have been only half serious, but it gave an idea – the germ from which sprang The Boys' Brigade. Smith saw that there might be more in it than his partner imagined.

Why should it be so easy for a man to control a hundred other men on a Saturday afternoon, and so difficult to control a mere handful of boys on a Sunday? He thought it out, and the answer that came to him was, 'Discipline and *esprit de corps*' (1953: 31-32; original emphasis).

In the union of religious and military instruction, Smith created his first Company. But, just as discipline and military drill were entwined as a founding principle of the movement, it is an association which remains – and is actively rewritten – through The BB's guiding texts. Three 'texts' are particularly important in this regard, the *Manual for the use of Officers*, the *Drill Book* and the BB *Object* embedded within its Constitution[94]. Each guide the movement by offering its Officers guid*ance* as to their practice. Each is considered in turn.

DISCIPLINE'S MEANS...

Section C of The BB's (1971) *Manual for the use of Officers* details 'The Brigade Method', setting out its seven 'Elements' as follows; The Company, Church Relationships and Christian Education, Discipline, Uniform, Awards, Activities In General, and Leadership (The Boys' Brigade, 1971: 18)[95]. While it is the second of these – Church Relationships and Christian Education – which is accorded special emphasis through the use of bold text in the description, the third – Discipline – is described thus:

> Discipline plays an important part in the Method, being introduced gradually in the Junior Section, fostered through Drill and other activities and developed into self-discipline in the Company Section (*ibid.*).

The connection between drill and discipline highlighted above is further forged in the pages of the current *Drill Book*. Published in 1987, and not updated since, this publication provides, in its 130 pages, the practicalities of drill; the manoeuvres to be used and an Officer's guide for their successful execution. In addition, it sets out the underpinning philosophy for the use of drill in The BB. To explore this connection between discipline and drill further it is perhaps insightful to pause and reproduce the first chapter in full.

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[94] While dated, the inclusion of the *Manual* in this list is a deliberate manoeuvre. Not only is the rationale of many activities which continue in The BB at present most clearly set out within its pages, but responses from the questionnaire revealed that of the 111 respondents who completed the question regarding length of service almost two-thirds of respondents (62.5%) had served for longer than 20 years. A substantially unchanged (at least in the sections quoted herein) edition of the *Manual* was published in 1985. Thus, consideration of the *Manual* in which the majority of current Officers gained their training and which may continue to guide their practice is vital. Moreover, recent updates have simply been entitled the *Officer's Handbook*, and many Officers may still view this publication as a second text rather than the *Manual*'s successor. Indeed, although anecdotal, in one interviewee's bathroom it was not the *Handbook* which was on hand for consultation, but the *Manual*, suggesting that it is still considered a guiding text of the movement by some.

[95] It should be noted that in the most recent Officer's *Handbook* there are *eight* elements of the Method (The Company, Church Relationships, Christian Education, Structure, Uniform, Awards, Activities General, and Leadership). Thus, Church Relationships and Christian Education have been split and Discipline replaced by Structure. In saying this, however, the importance of Structure leading to self-discipline remains. Under the heading Structure the *Handbook*

Chapter 1

The Purpose and Place of Drill in The Boys' Brigade

It is important that all Officers understand the value of drill in the B.B.

The Direct Results of Drill

    a) **Discipline.** A disciple is one under training. In the B.B. it is a voluntary discipline – self discipline.

    b) **Self-Control.** To stand still for a few moments is only a very small step towards the mastery of body and mind, but the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.

    c) **Smartness.** Drill is the framework within which the Boy is encouraged to take pride in his turnout and appearance. He also learns to seek an erect and upright bearing.

    d) **Teamwork.** Drill is a team activity. The individual cannot shine. The combination of smartness and teamwork, both in the interests of something higher than the individual, builds esprit-de-corps – that great spirit of pride in the unit which makes a Boy ready to sacrifice for it.

    e) **Thoroughness and attention to detail.** In drill the slap-dash will not do. A Boy is taught to concentrate on detail.

    f) **Developing Leadership.** Drill provides a valuable opportunity to develop leadership potential.

    g) **Self-reliance.** A Boy as a Section Commander rapidly learns to exercise self-reliance.

No other activity in the B.B. can do so much at the one time.

The Indirect Results of Drill

Good Drill will 'rub off' on to other aspects of the Company.

    a) It will raise general standards of smartness and discipline.

    b) The general atmosphere and spirit in the Company will be improved.

    c) Standards and atmosphere in non-uniform situations will also be improved.

The Place of Drill

Drill is only a part, albeit a very important part, of the B.B. method. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself.

On the Drill Parade night many Companies tend to spend up to twenty minutes on their Opening Parade and Inspection, and about thirty minutes on drill.

Drill is one of the few activities that the Boys probably will not do outside the Brigade, and in these days of increasing professionalism, we owe it to them to demand and set a high standard of achievement. Always try to remember that Boys deplore poor drill, but they respect and respond to good drill.

(The Boys' Brigade, 1987: 5-6)

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states, 'An important aspect of the Method is a programme structure in which carefully graded demands are made on boys according to ages, to assist them to develop self-discipline' (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: C1).

In terms echoing statements in the *Manual* regarding the progression to self-discipline, here discipline is more than merely associated with drill but highlighted as one of seven direct 'results'. It is the means through which discipline is achieved.

Yet, the importance of this *consequential* connection cannot be considered without recourse to the BB *Object* set out in Article 2 of The BB's *Constitution* as, 'The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 1). This statement could be regarded not only as a statement of purpose but both the movement's guiding narrative[96] and a central motivational force for its Officers[97] (see CHAPTER FIVE). It is the *Object*'s latter emphasis on the habits, 'Obedience, Reverence, Discipline and Self-Respect' which is noteworthy here. Article 3 of the *Constitution* states:

> The Object shall be promoted by Christian teaching, drill and such methods as may be recognised by the Brigade Council [...] of value in the training of Boys (2001: 1).

If discipline is, then, seen as a habit to be encouraged – a core of a believed in *Object* – and that drill is, at least in part, the method through which this habit is nurtured, it could be speculated that the importance of drill as a foundation of discipline would escape the confines of text and inform Officers' current practice.

Returning to findings from the questionnaire survey, when asked 'how does The BB achieve this Object?', 14.7% of the 102 Officers completing that question responded 'Drill', the fourth most frequently noted response[98]. Moreover, in their comments, respondents often equated drill and discipline (e.g., 'We show them discipline and obedience in drill, their uniform. [...]' [Q 00023], 'Discipline, Obedience through drill. [...]' [Q 00033], 'By discipline of mind and body through drill/PE etc. class work. [...]' [Q 00093], '[...] Drill gives the boys an insight into the world of discipline' [Q 00067]) while some framed their own response in strikingly similar terms to the texts above:

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[96] Responses to the questionnaire survey revealed that the *Object* is more than an abstract concept but the lived and believed in core of the imagined community of The BB (i.e., it is a narrative which the twin practices of running a BB Company and being a BB Officer work towards and through). The importance of the Object as a guiding narrative was tested through the questionnaire survey. The forty-first and final question of the questionnaire posed the question 'Do you think the Object is still relevant for today's young people?'. A simple Yes or No was required. Of the 113 respondents who completed this question, 103 answered in the affirmative (91.2%), six the negative (5.3%) and four both yes and no (3.5%). Important here, however, is that their choice would undoubtedly have been influenced by the second part of the question. If the respondent answered Yes, they were then prompted to answer the question 'why?'. Similarly, if No was selected they were asked 'what would be a more appropriate Object?'. Thus, this latter follow-up question presented the reader with a 'threat of change', and it could even be speculated that this was more forceful given that respondents had just completed the 'official' section of the questionnaire, the responses to which would inform the policy of The BB (see CHAPTER FIVE).

[97] When asked in question 13 of the questionnaire survey 'why are you a BB leader?' the fourth most frequent response was 'believed in the organisation's Object/basic principles'. 22 of the 111 individuals who answered the question – almost a fifth (19.8%) – included this answer as part of their response.

[98] Of the 113 respondents of the questionnaire survey, 102 answered the fortieth question; 'In your opinion, how does The BB achieve this Object?'. It formed the second of three questions asked in the sixth – and final – section of the questionnaire, a section specifically focused on the Object. The five most frequent answers provided (including number of respondents and percentage of respondents in parenthesis following each) were as follows: 'Through its programme of activities (n=40, 39.2%); 'By example' (n=31, 30.4%); 'Through Bible class/Christian education' (n=27, 26.5%); 'Through drill' (n=15, 14.7%); and 'Through team-building/teamwork' (n=11, 10.8%).

Discipline; by training in drill leading to good formal discipline (i.e., entirely drill based) and, as a result, good informal discipline (not directly drill based) (Q 00091).

...DRILL'S END?

Drill has therefore been established as discipline's means, but is discipline drill's end? In search of an answer, a return to the *Drill Book*'s first chapter is helpful. Under the heading 'The Place of Drill' we find this comment:

> Drill is only a part, albeit a very important part, of the BB method. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself (The Boys' Brigade, 1987: 6).

Drill has been pinpointed, both discursively and in practice, as a core element of the 'Method' through which the fulfilment of The BB's *Object* and particularly discipline (importantly, as a step towards self-discipline) is achieved. But, just as discipline and drill are inextricably linked, so too is the latter with parading. Indeed, for some Officers this is more than a connection; parading is drill's *raison d'etre*.

> Obviously, what's the point in doing drill unless you have parades or you have a drill competition? You have something to aim for, otherwise it's just walking around a church hall on a Friday night (I 008).

Parading is, then, connected to drill and, in turn, to discipline. Yet, moving from the Officers' comments back to the *Manual* once more, what is the reason for these parades? Under the heading, Church Parades in Section J of the *Manual* entitled, 'The Company in Action', is the following statement:

> Church parades are normally used throughout the Brigade as a means of witness and of visibly identifying the Brigade with the work of the Church. Such Parades are valuable in fostering the close connection between the Company and its Church. **At Church Parades Uniform will be worn by all ranks** (The Boys' Brigade, 1971: 43; original emphasis)[99].

Parades are distinct acts of a 'company in action'. But they are thoroughly embodied and distinctly spatial acts. Exploration of the historical *roots* of parading has highlighted a connection between discipline, drill and parading. In attempting to answer key questions surrounding how The BB is accomplished 'on parade', contemporary *routes* of parades must be examined.

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[99] It is interesting to note the similar wording used in the current Officer's *Handbook* regarding church parades. It notes: 'Regular church parades are held by many Companies as a means of witness and of visibly identifying the Company with the work of the Church. The pattern will vary from Church to church, and will need to take into account the other uniformed youth organisations within the Church. Where a band is available, there may be an actual parade in the streets around the Church, but in all cases, correct uniform should be worn by all ranks' (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F5). Discussion will return to the importance of the presence of a band highlighted by this statement.

ROUTES

Drawing almost entirely upon interview data this section focuses on the practice of parading, and particularly a parade's purpose. During interviews two specific questions regarding parading were asked. First, interviewees were asked whether or not their Company paraded and, if so, where and when. Secondly, they were asked to reflect upon the *value* of parading. The narrative through their responses which follows is structured by considering three 'ends'. Discussion will move first to examine purpose, the *end* of parading. Questions of the demise and decline of parading in The BB will form the second point. Finally, the analytical lens will turn to the route of the parade 'on the ground', and the site at which the movement stops, the church; the parade's end.

PARADE'S END: (MIXED) MESSAGES OF MOVEMENT

Entitled simply 'Marching with the Band' the song quoted at the vignette's outset presents us with an image of 'The BB parade'. Embedded within, however, are hints towards their purpose. Charles Hovel's reaction after witnessing the reality of a BB parade passing through the streets of London places this purpose centre stage;

> We heard sounds we'd never heard before, it was quite stirring, and looking away along to a bend in the road, we could see an enormous crowd coming into view. At first it was masses of local kids, but then as they came on and swirled past us I was enchanted. This was, although I knew nothing of such things, a Battalion parade of The Boys' Brigade. There were the 101st with their French type E-Flat Bugles, there were the 77th London with their enormous Brass Band, Captain Cave Allan's 1st London in their pride with their Silver Band, and rank after rank, hundreds of Brigaders – band box smart and marching in unison, as they passed the 6th London Bugle Band was playing, side drums playing as one, bass drum sticks cutting swathes in the air and look at him again – glory be – it's one of my old schoolmates – old Pocock, and he's got a great white Leopard skin under his leather overall and the open jawed head is resting on the back of his shoulders showing frightful fangs. The following Tuesday I enrolled. (Hovel, circa 1930, quoted in The Boys' Brigade Archive Press, no date: 15).

Around 73 years after Hovel's recollection a current BB Officer mulls over the value of parades;

> I think it's important because [...] why hide your light under a bushel? We have a lot to show. I mean what other formats can we take to go out and [...] show the public that we're still there? [...] how else do we let people know that we are still about, we do still exist? [...] And it might trigger somebody to think, 'oh, I'll send my boy there', or 'oh, they're still on the go I didn't know that' (I 022).

In *showing* The BB, parades are themselves a show. They carry a message. They have an audience; or, rather, *multiple* audiences. Closer examination of these two quotations reveals three distinct audiences. In the first the boy himself is attracted to join; in the second his parents are attracted to send their boy; and, thirdly, 'the public' sees the show.

SEEING THE MOVEMENT

In the already quoted *Manual*, the notion of the parade bearing witness to the ethos of The BB to these audiences is noted, as is the idea that the parade is 'visibly identifying' the work of The BB with that of the church. The parade – a fleeting reconfiguration of (public) space – can thus be considered as a mobile site of connection and identification. Yet, it is catching *sight* of this parade – literally seeing it move through the street – that connects it to both The BB Company and Church, and identifies the act with the ethos of both sites. The visibility of the parade is crucial, not only with regard to who sees the parade, but also, crucially, in how what is seen influences the message that audiences take from the sight of the movement.

This understanding emerges from detailed examination of Officers' comments, throughout which the notion of visibility frequently surfaces. The following Officer's remark is typical;

> It's actually a promotion of The BB as a whole as I see it, you're advertising. Nothing draws people faster to the curtains be it because they're annoyed at being woken up on a Sunday morning as you're belting out the bugle and the big drum. [...] You have pride in yourself and showing yourself off to your community, this what we stand for, this is how we are, come and join us. So it's self-advertising and it's unity; The BB is a Christian organisation and it allows you all to share in fellowship of faith (I 008).

The role of the parade as an act that identifies The BB with the Christian faith is a recurring response. The central thread of most responses, however, is that 'it's self-advertising' (I 002; I 011; I 015; I 019); the parade is 'Super PR. It just gets you visible within the community, especially with the band playing' (I 016). In the contact between tarmac and (polished!) shoe, The BB is connected back to its community; its continued presence re-inscribed through the movement of bodies. The parade's importance in doing so is highlighted by the fact that, for some, if The BB is not 'out and about' (i.e., if The BB is not seen), it will be thought not to exist; visibility here equating with existence;

> Nowadays you'll find people wondering if the BB still exists, they're not sure. Is it still on the go? We never see it (I 003).

A SHOW OF STRENGTH AND SKILL

For many, though, presen*ce* must not descend into presen*tism*. Simply being in the community is not enough.

> Interviewee: The reality for us is that parades almost became an embarrassment because it's very difficult to get boys out in numbers on a Sunday. We will have 30 on the roll and if we get 18 to 20 on a Sunday we really think we've done very well. We no longer have a band...
>
> *Interviewee 2: Which means marching gets a bit shambolic* (I 004).

If parades are about public relations, about communicating a message, in order not to send the 'wrong' message, the show must not only be a performance, but performed 'well'. And here both strength and skill are crucial[100]. Many Officers noted that the parade had to be 'done correctly'. For example, the following Officer links *quantity* of boys to the parade being a spectacle, almost implying that, without a demonstration of strength, the parade is no longer spectacular:

> I can remember it goes back to the 70s [...] you've got about 20-odd companies, with probably an average of 30 or 40 boys, so you're probably talking, 5, 6, 7, 800 boys. That is a spectacle. That's something. And there were a lot of folk watching it. But that's the [laughs] bygone age. [...] The numbers reduce and [...] you'd almost think that instead of the Battalion it's just a Company that's marching (I 010).

Similarly, issues of *quality* are also ever present in Officers remarks, as this typical response illustrates;

> There is nothing better than seeing a parade walking down the street smart and marching. But at the same time that can be hurtful if it's a shambles. From an Adjutant's point of view and an Officer's point of view, who sometimes stands off the parade and watches it as it snakes through it's a disgrace at times. And you think what do they think of us if we can't even walk up the street properly? (I 022).

PARADE VS. 'PARADE', REALITY VS. IMAGE

A set of normative assumptions surrounding the parade is emerging. In order for the 'right' message to be communicated – presumably that which casts The BB in a positive light, encouraging others to join, and establishing The BB as a positive presence in the community – a parade must have certain features. Counter-messages, or at best mixed messages, are communicated when the *reality* of the parade does not equate to the *image* of 'The BB on parade'. Strength and skill have already been identified as key features of this image. Additionally, the presence of a band is crucial;

> We do still have a march past, and we parade the colours obviously. We don't have any bands or anything like that. [...] We don't have to get the police involved, because we're marching through the High Street here and all that sort of thing, because you really need a band to do that, and we don't have a band. [...] It's in inverted commas a 'parade'. It's no[t] a parade in the real sense of the word; it's a church service with a bit of forming and marching past a different door. [...] But as I said I'll get these boys to go but I think we don't have the mechanism any more to parade, you really need a band (I 009).

---

[100] This reading of Officers' remarks owes much to Kong and Yeoh's (1997) analysis of National Day parades in Singapore. Military might once demonstrated through the spectacle of massed ranks of ordnance has shifted towards almost theatrical displays of skill by members of the armed forces (e.g., rifle twirling, aerobatic displays, and nautical stunts). In each performance '[t]heir perfectly synchronised steps bore testimony to skills honed from rigorous and precise training' (1997: 225). Moreover, Kong and Yeoh insightfully note; 'Parades do not simply occupy central space but also move through space as a means of diffusing the spectacle' (*ibid.*: 220).

Bands, then, are not only both a means of attracting attention – 'drawing people to their curtains' – and a mechanism to aid ordered movement (in step, in time), but also an essential feature of a 'proper parade'; a 'BB parade' is, as the lyrical opening of this vignette suggested, 'marching with the band'.

For others, this *image* is complete with uniform, but the recent (1999) change in uniform means that the *reality* again does not match the image;

> Although, to be fair, with our uniforms nowadays some people will not realise that we're The BB. Our old uniform was instantaneously recognisable particularly [here]. Now we're simply in sweatshirts, there'll be some that don't know we're The BB (I 024).

ONE GAP, TWO AUDIENCES

That there exists a mis-match between the *reality* of parading and the desired *image* of the parade has been established. This 'gap' takes on renewed significance, however, if questions surrounding audiences are (re)considered. One Officer, reflecting on The BB's image, commented:

> I: The image of The BB is still – there was a programme on about it in Scotland not long ago – it was still very much this idea of pill box hats and parades, and the Bible and drill, and that was really about all you wanted to know and say 'well that's what you are, aren't you?' And that's a dreadful image. It's kind of, wee tie and the short hair cut, a picture of a 1960s kid, much like myself probably. It was shocking.
>
> **Interviewer: It's almost like they put The BB in a box then?**
>
> I: Yeah...
>
> **I: But we don't do anything to...**
>
> I: ...yeah [...] I think probably [...] we've been there for so long that people, yeah, you're right, absolutely right, we're in a box and it's one of those boxes with slippery sides, it's very difficult to see how we're going to get out of it (I 020).

Although admittedly a shared understanding which emerged in the interview 'encounter', the image of The BB 'in a box' is a valuable one. It is an image that speaks to those who have witnessed a parade in the past, who have locked away in memory their own image of The BB, and wish to see it repeated 'on the ground'. This is not, however, how Charles Hovel experienced the passing parade which encouraged him to 'join up' as a boy. In their responses, Officers appear to be aware of this gap, and, moreover, there surfaces a feeling that the more this gap between the reality and *this* image is closed, the more the message to *boys* changes. Far from encouraging boys to 'join', it elicits 'jeers':

> The boys tell you sometimes don't they? If they don't turn up then it's a big pointer. [...] We find now, whether it's peer pressure or whatever, that the boys don't want to march down the street because their pals or their friends might be looking down on them and making a bit of fun of them. The last parade we had was maybe about three years ago and attendance was dreadful (I 023).

From a boys point of view what does it bring? Embarrassment probably (I 022)

Neatly encapsulated in the final Officer's reflection, these insights resonate with those outlined in the previous chapter. There 'the street' emerged as a (discursively constructed) moral location with which Officers hold an ambiguous relationship. One reading emphasised 'the street' as a place where temptation threatened to steer boys away from the Company and a healthy and productive path through life. It was to lead boys away from 'the street' conceived as a negative 'activityspace' that provided at least part of the motivation behind Officers' voluntary service. A second interlinked understanding stressed Officers' express desire for boys to be able to navigate 'the street' (protected) as 'BB boys', to face up to harassment, derision, and bullying, and able to avoid being 'sucked into' a series of negative influences through peer pressure. Here, reclaiming the street as a 'BB space' subtly plays into this process of raising competence and confidence on the street as a 'BB boy'. In the eyes of some, this intermittent capture of 'the street' – crucially *en masse*, demonstrating strength (I 008) – aims to alleviate any feelings of embarrassment. Importantly, however, boys' embarrassment at being on parade is not completely conquered. These Officers also highlight that boys themselves are 'marching with their feet' and choosing not to attend. Thus, *their* construction of the street becomes vital to the successful accomplishment of The BB Company.

VISIBILITY CONTROLLED, GEOGRAPHY DEPLOYED

The performance of the parade is important, but the situated *geography* of the parade is equally vital. A parade's visibility (i.e., who sees it and the message taken from its sight) can be controlled through the siting of the parade (i.e., controlling the very spaces through which it passes). For example, a parade can be hidden in back-streets to prevent either the wrong message being disseminated or boys experiencing bullying, or it can be placed centre stage through major thoroughfares, allowing the 'right' image to reinforce the 'right' message (I 009; I 024):

> The only value I would see in a parade is if it's the specific specialised parade. The Queen's Men parade in Glasgow I think is valuable. Why? Because it's high profile, it's in the centre of the city, it's well done, it's senior boys who know how to conduct themselves and project themselves. That's very different from a higlty-piglty hotchpotch right in a district which I don't think has any value at all. I think it's got to be either local in your own church family or a specialised national [parade]. The last district parade I was at in Glasgow we were in Cambuslang round the back streets and I thought it was completely valueless (I 021; see Figure 3).

In closing, it would be remiss not to note that just as geography can be deployed to control the message, the very geography of parading in Scotland – what the act of parading signifies in particular Scottish towns and cities – also informs local practice. Parading in The BB must be

situated within this wider context[101]. As a Christian movement with a protestant heritage the difficulty of messages being distorted to suit sectarian ends is an ever present 'danger' in some communities. As one Officer notes;

> Aberdeen Battalion always had a Battalion parade. You have to remember Aberdeen's a place where sectarianism's not a problem. So you're talking about companies in columns of threes two columns abreast in four sections with two bands and a whole set of colours, [...] hundreds of kids taking up the main street right the way down into the Music Hall service. And the whole community really saying, 'oh right, there's the BB'. Came here, [Glasgow] has a history of sectarianism. So the union flag is much more associated with Ibrox[102] and loyalist movement than it would be with The BB, which, I admit would be sort of white Anglo-Saxon protestant. Although we would parade it's a slightly more dangerous location than it previously would have been (I 020[103]).

PARADE'S END?: PARADING'S DEMISE, PARADING'S DEFENCE

> **I: Is there something that you think by not doing parades you would miss? It is something that does seem to be...**
>
> I: Aye...
>
> **I: ...disappearing. Is there something that's going to be taken away from The BB?**
>
> I: A few years ago I would've said yes, but now I honestly don't know if they're worth bothering about. I wouldn't miss them, no, no, no (I 010).

A second Officer commenting that 'there's a movement within the Brigade for scrapping the thing altogether at the moment' (I 008), evidences the existence of a perception within The BB that parades are a feature of the past, that they are no longer relevant to boys, and, as noted above, that they would not be missed by Officers. This is, at least in part, mirrored by another Officer's typical reflection upon the demise of parades:

> I can't think what would be lost at all. I can imagine the old-timers being in horror; what are the ROs [Reserve Officers] going to do if they can't fall in behind the saluting base? That might actually sound a bit facetious. But I do have this bugbear, are we running things for the ROs or are we running things for the boys of today? And I think it should be about the boys today. And certainly parades don't seem to be particularly relevant to them because it's not how they think, and I think it's about could we have some activities that would be worthwhile for them? (I 001)

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[101] Of course, this is to say nothing of the legislative context governing parading in Scotland. Sir John Orr's recent (January 2005) *Review of Marches and Parades in Scotland* (Scottish Executive, 2005) cannot be separated from the ever present spectre of sectarianism, and the Scottish Executive's desire to tackle sectarianism in Scottish communities.

[102] Ibrox stadium is the home of Rangers Football Club, one half of Glasgow's 'Old Firm', the other being Celtic.

[103] Anonymity has been partially compromised in this and the previous quotation because naming the places referred to is central to the argument presented. This detail should not, however, reveal the identity of these interviewees.

Blythswood Square

Hope Street

Renfield Street

Buchanan Street

Queen Street

George Square
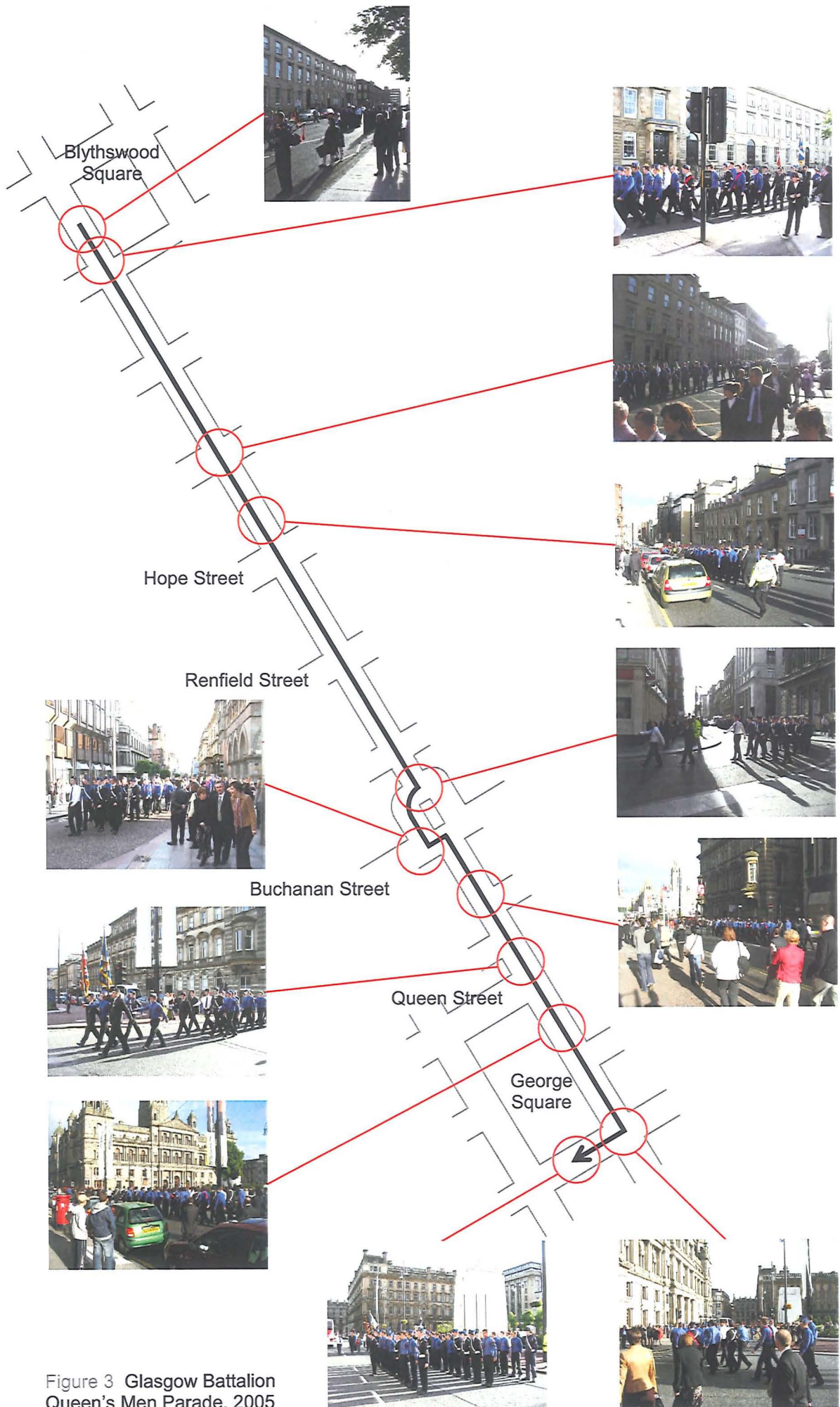
Figure 3 Glasgow Battalion Queen's Men Parade, 2005

DEFENDING PARADING

While some Officers, themselves questioning a parade's end, search for alternatives, others turn to defend parades. Although far from a forthright defence, one Officer does so through recourse to the connection between discipline, drill and parading explicated earlier:

> Although I still believe in the discipline that we try to encourage, the self-discipline in The BB, I just don't know if the drill, military side of it [is] as it was. I would say, community and nation as a whole, association with military is less than it was. So the military connections are almost irrelevant for many boys. I mean it'll be an attraction for some, but they tend to go on to the Army Cadets (I 010).

Similarly, others challenged by the 'movement within the Brigade for scrapping parades' are prompted to re-examine their position with regard to parading in light of the importance that they seemingly have played to the movement in the past:

> I've been cautioned by the minister. He said I understand where you're coming from with the thought because I was of the opinion parades are dead, they've outlived their usefulness. They don't show The BB off to the general public because the numbers aren't there. We don't always have the bands either so you're failing to bang the drum and say here we are, you want to be part and parcel with us. I've thought the days of having that were over. But he said think long and hard before you do away with it, because if you do away with it you will never resurrect it. It's very much an important feature of what The BB's all about; it differentiates The BB from the Scouts, the Guides because of what our Object is, to advance Christ's kingdom (I 005).

The importance of parading to the foundation of the movement, and as a feature which 'differentiates' the movement from other organisations for young people, provides some Officers with a sound platform for a forceful defence;

> I still see that the value of the boys marching from a to b, epitomises what we're all about. We're a disciplined organisation and as well as our direct Object, the advancement of Christ's kingdom, we're still a disciplined group (I 023).

> If you want a good argument for it, The BB is a Christian, youth, organisation, disciplined with uniform; a uniformed disciplined organisation. If you take away the marching then you've got a uniformed Christian youth organisation. If you take away the uniform then you've got a young man's Christian fellowship. If you take away church then all you've got is a youth club. So that's really the way to look at it. You need all those elements to be The BB (I 014).

Not only is it noteworthy that to these interviewees the subtraction of parading equates to the removal of discipline echoing earlier concerns, but the spatial act of parading – 'from a to b epitomises' the core beliefs and ethos of the movement. The demise of parading is hence perceived to reflect a diminution of The BB. Yet, this is not the sole base from which Officers launch their defence of parading. Reflecting on his own practice, one Officer remarks:

I don't necessarily feel that parades are on their way out, certainly [here]. The 1st [...] have a youth parade they call it. They've got their youth groups, there's their Brownies, their Girls' Brigade, their BB, their Covenanters, all the things to do with youth they actually march; BB at the front and bugle band of The BB at the end. Every youth organisation parades. [...] And it's the same with ourselves. It's BB and Girls' Brigade of our own church parade on that day. So, no, they're not on their way out, they're there, they serve a purpose for the boys, as a Company as a whole (I 016).

For this Officer, parades continue to 'serve a purpose'. Their communicative function has already been outlined. However, in doing so only three audiences were considered (i.e., the boys, parents, and the public witnessing the parade). Yet, there is a fourth. What of the actors in the show? What of the 'BB boys' on parade?

PRIDE ON PARADE

Reflecting on the purpose of the parade for the boys involved, encouraging a sense of pride emerges as a key element (I 006; I 013):

> It gives them a sense of pride and a sense of reason for being there. I think if you're just going to have a church service and you say to the boys, 'right, we'll meet you in the front pews', then there's sort of less purpose for being there. There's less reason to say well, why am I getting dressed up just to go and sit in a pew? But, if they've got something to show off. The pipe band's another attraction, because the boys that are in the band are very sort of proud to show off that they can play the pipes or the drums or whatever (I 002).

Fostering a sense of pride is underpinned by the theory of drill which, as noted above, itself underpins parading. In the already quoted chapter of the *Drill Book*, under the section 'The Direct Results of Drill', point c – Smartness – notes that 'the Boy is encouraged to take pride in his turnout and appearance' (The Boys' Brigade, 1987: 6), whereas under point d – Teamwork – it is written;

> Drill is a team activity. The individual cannot shine. The combination of smartness and teamwork, both in the interests of the something higher than the individual, builds *esprit-de-corps* – that great spirit of pride in the unit which makes a Boy ready to sacrifice for it (The Boys' Brigade, 1987: 6).

Pride is fostered as a result of taking part in the parade, but, for many, parades have a second function:

> Come to the Object for instance or why I think it's central to the BB, how does [a parade] help you bring a boy to Jesus? It doesn't. [...] If people see, that's the BB in the box image again without actually going inside [...] then the value of parades is actually negative. Why don't we just say, meet here at quarter to eleven in uniform, we're going into church, listen to what's being said, we're going to take part in the service, we're going to have a burger and a bun and juice afterwards and some of the people from the church might want to talk to you about what you're doing or something like that. And then you're mum and dad'll just take you home. Isn't that just the same? Only it'll be more

informal and more relaxed. Won't we present a softer image. Not maybe cuddly or friendly but we are something that is in the twenty-first century but it doesn't necessarily mean that we have ditched what our core values are (I 020).

ACTORS BECOME AUDIENCE

For some, then, it is not participation in the movement which is important, nor the message of the movement which is communicated which is crucial, but the *Christian* message which the actors – now the audience – receive. This conceptualisation of parades is common. For example, prefacing comments already quoted above that the movement between 'a and b epitomises what The BB is all about', one Officer succinctly notes:

> Obviously the most important thing is that it's to get into the church worship bit; to get the Christian message across (I 023).

This notion that it is attendance at church – point b on the parade route – which is the most important is an opinion finding favour with other Officers:

> A parade as far as I'm concerned is to worship God and what's incidental to it is that we march to and we have a march past after the parade. But I would do away with the marching to and from the church, I'm more interested that the boys attend and get something meaningful out of an act of worship (I 005).

After noting that 'attendance at church in uniforms as opposed to a parade is a good idea' (I 004) in another conversation interviewees proposed an alternative;

> I: You turn up to the district church parade and there's 20. But if you change the district church parade in uniform from a Sunday and call it a district games night on a Friday night, no uniform, but with a bible class element somewhere in the programme, you get 100. And what's more important? [...]
>
> I: *If you've not got any of them there, there's no point in having a message for them. You're better to have 100 there* (I 004).

HEARING THE MESSAGE

And so, discussion returns almost full circle to the issue of communicating a message. Yet, where *seeing* was central in communicating a message to the outside audiences, when the actors, previously the medium though which the message is *transmitted* (indeed, almost the message themselves) become the audience, and *receive* the message, it is *hearing* which becomes central. Now, of course, we are considering two separate messages, one secular bound up with presence (implicitly sacred through connection) and one explicitly sacred, the message of the Christian gospel. For some, that this latter message is heard at all is important, and it need not be heard in church. For others, that this message is heard at church *is* important:

> So we don't get too fussed about parades we like to get the boys into church services and we like to have the Chaplain with us (I 021).

There is, however, more to encouragement of church attendance than simply hearing the message. There exists a perception that church on a Sunday is the 'right' place and time to hear this message, and that in encouraging attendance it will foster the *habit* of going to church. For example, one Officer remarks:

> I think kids think church is alien, they don't mind doing a wee bit of the Christian education on a Friday night, but to get them to the church you have to twist arms and things [... But] being a Christian organisation, it's fundamental you get them in there (I 009).

That it is an 'alien' environment for many boys is, though, laid at the feet of parents. Thus, it is the 'un-churched' boys who are to be reached by parading to church. Parading becomes part of The BB's *mission*;

> I'm finding more and more that the number of boys in The BB have never been to church, or don't go in to church, or have never been attached to church because their mum and dad aren't church attached. So it's good if you want to let them see that because we're in the 4th [...] BB we're attached to the West Church [...] and they can see the minister a couple of times a year (I 016).

This Officer's final remarks highlight that, just as the movement communicated the message of the parade, this message is communicated to the movement by an individual. The role that ministers play in the act of parading is important, but has thus far been neglected. So, just as on marching past the church after a service, the parade will turn their eyes and salute their Chaplain, our analytical gaze now turns towards this individual and the church at the parade's end.

PARADE'S END!: MINISTERS AND 'THE MESSAGE'

Having woven its way through the street, with a single command the movement is stopped; the parade has arrived at the end of its route. Parades have already been seen to be crucial in 'visibly identifying' the work of The BB Company with the church. It should, however, be noted that Company and Church are *constitutionally* connected. Not only does Clause b of Article 8 of The BB's *Constitution* state that 'Each Company shall be part of a Church or Christian Organisation approved by the Brigade Executive. Such Church or Christian Organisation shall be responsible for the Christian Education of the Company' (2001: 2), but in the next Article highlights the specific role of the 'Chaplain';

> A Chaplain or Chaplains shall be appointed to each Company and such Chaplains shall wherever practicable be Ministers of Religion. Where no Minister is available, another suitable person nominated by the Church or other organisation of which the Company is a part shall be Chaplain (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 2).

Indeed, Article 11 makes clear that a close relationship between the Company's Captain and Chaplain is desirable:

> In the work of the Company it shall be the duty of the Captain to seek to establish the closest co-operation with the Chaplain and the Church or other Organisation of which the Company is a part (*ibid.*).

STYLE AND ATTITUDE

While poring over the finer details of The BB's *Constitution* is perhaps not the most interesting of research avenues, it is nonetheless insightful forcefully highlighting the role the Chaplain plays in ensuring the Company's successful operation. Moreover, as stewards of the church at which the parade ends, they can control both the movement (and thus the messages which are broadcast to multiple external audiences by that movement) and the (gospel) message received by the internal audience of actors. Thus, questions of the Chaplain's attitude and style come to the fore in Officers' remarks (i.e., their *attitude* towards parading and the *style* in which they deliver the message to boys).

Turning first to the latter, several Officers reflect on the importance of the Chaplain's *style* to the message delivered. Some simply noted that the church service 'should be aimed at the boys' (I 016), whereas others commented;

> What it does for the boys? I think it varies from minister to minister. Our minister's quite good he'll adapt his service to suit the fact he's got youngsters in. Instead of having a sermon he'll just have an address and makes a point of lowering the level, and I think some of the congregation appreciate that as well, they can understand what he's saying a wee bit more [laughs]. But you go to some district parades and the minister keeps preaching above their heads (I 002).

> The service followed the normal pattern, there was even an anthem, quite a high class anthem from the church choir. The boys took to that, there was no bother, mainly because the minister he's got a style which is a bit, even the way he speaks, like Billy Connelly [laughs] believe it or not. So his style of communication and his personality appealed to the boys. But so was the address. [It] was based on the Sunday papers, he had the tabloids there and some of them with pictures of semi-naked women and all, and I mean he was quite bold about it and he tied all this in with a very good Christian message; very well done (I 003).

Similarly, many Officers reflect upon how the Chaplain's *attitude* towards the militaristic overtones of the parade, established through the roots of parading in The BB, can inhibit their ability to perform the parade at all. For example:

> Our minister is a pacifist, so he doesn't believe in glorifying war and all that and uniform and colours and things (I 009).

> Our minister doesn't like parades, he doesn't like organisations parading their colours. [...] We try chipping away but we know the minister's very set in his ways. The church is there for the glorification of God and that's it (I 013).

These attitudes are thrown most sharply into relief over Remembrance parades in which boys are encouraged to participate, and one Officer's experience provides typical testimony; 'The minister is not particularly keen on parades at Remembrance Sunday, so there's no Remembrance Sunday parade' (I 012).

SUMMARY

It is fitting that the final footsteps of this route through parading in The BB should be in the shoes of those with whom this vignette opened; our opening scene the return from war, our closing scene the remembrance of war-time sacrifice. Yet, having travelled along this route we also return to – and, indeed, build upon – the theoretical foundation set out in VIGNETTE ONE.

The BB accomplishes itself 'on parade', not only through the physical movement through space as an act of (re)connection, but also through this movement communicating a message to multiple audiences, ranging from non-members, through parents to the public. Yet, just as this message is communicated *by* the movement of boys to a series of external audiences, a message is also communicated *to* the movement of boys. Notwithstanding that these messages are different – one secular (implicitly sacred), one sacred – and that they are controlled by maintenance of not only the image of the parade (in relation to its reality) but also by geography in the former case and by ministers in the latter case, what is crucial is that these messages are communicated to individuals. Thus the message enters minds. The BB is also accomplished and *moves* through the intimately personal 'spaces' of these minds.

Chapter Five:

Re: [BB] Object

> During our Enrolment Service last week, the pastor read out the Object, ending with 'all that tends towards a true Christian witness'. Is this now the Object, or what?[104]

During the summer of 1883, in an upstairs room of Woodside Quadrant in Glasgow, The BB's founder and his first lieutenants, brothers James R. and John B. Hill, composed the Object of the movement that they would institute in October that year (Gibbon, 1934: 38)[105]. That composition has remained unaltered since the addition of 'Obedience' before the word 'Reverence' in September 1893 (*ibid.*, 40; Birch, 1959: 22)[106]: 'The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 1). The only difference, therefore, between the Object as it currently stands and an Officer's 'post' to The BB's email list on Wednesday 22nd October 2003, quoted above, is the replacement of its final word, 'manliness', with 'witness'. By 11:00am that morning two individuals had confirmed that the Object had not been altered (although not mentioned by either, as Article 2 of The BB's *Constitution*, this matter would 'legally' have to be brought before The BB's annual 'Council' of Officers, as it had been in 1893[107]). This did not, however, stop a debate springing from this 'post' and surging through

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[104] In order to preserve anonymity, Officers have been designated a number (allocated in order of appearance of quotes herein). The placing of the 'post' in the discussion thread is also provided (e.g., the descriptor [Officer 3, Post 16] denotes the third Officer quoted in this chapter making the sixteenth post to the discussion). This initial quote is considered the first 'post' by the first Officer (Officer 1, Post 1). Given that anonymity is assured, it is, following Bird and Barber (2002: 134 quoted in Angrosino, 2005: 742) considered 'acceptable to quote messages on public message boards'. The debate discussed is archived at http://host.boys-brigade.org.uk/pipermail/bb/2003-October/000942.html (Last accessed: 24/07/05).

[105] In his biography of William A. Smith, Gibbon notes the circumstances of the Object's composition; 'Canon John B. Hill tells how the three young men met in the summer of 1883 to discuss organisation, rules, and other details: 'My brother and I had rooms in Woodside Quadrant, and Smith often came in to talk things over. His signal was to whistle *Within a Mile of Edinboro' Toon* [their regimental march]. I can hear him now bounding up the stairs, two steps at a time. Those were happy evenings, and it was on one of these occasions that he said, 'This is going to be a great thing; let us put it into God's hands'. We knelt down and committed the future of the scheme to God, asking his blessing on it" (1934: 38-9).

[106] Gibbon (1934: 40) notes, 'The word 'Obedience' in the definition of the Object first appeared on the title page of 'The BB Gazette' for October, 1893, the addition having been made at the Annual Meeting in Glasgow the previous month'.

[107] Article 45 of the *Constitution* notes under the title 'Amendment to Constitution'; 'To be treated as valid business, a motion must be in the name of the Brigade Executive, a Regional Committee or of a Battalion or District Council, or have the support of at least five Officers from five different Companies. This Constitution shall not be altered except by a

subscribers' inboxes for the next four days. The original query received 27 replies from 15 individuals based in the UK and one located in the Bahamas. The discussion detoured through issues of political correctness, girls in The BB and the nature of Christian manliness (in opposition to Christian witness), with a few individuals returning to the writings of the Founder or closer scrutiny – dissection even – of the Object itself to express their views.

Yet, this episode does not merely serve as a useful springboard into a discussion of Officers' opinions about the Object. Instead, it encapsulates evidence which echoes already noted questionnaire survey findings. Initially, it should be remembered that when Officers were asked; 'why are you a BB Officer?', the fourth most popular response was 'I believe in the organisation's Object', with 22 of the 111 respondents who answered the question – almost a fifth (19.82%) – including this as part of their response (see CHAPTER THREE). Indeed, reinforcing these statistics, in later interviews one Officer succinctly remarked; 'I believe in the organisation's Object. That's the bottom line' (I 004), and another; 'The Object for me stands out above everything, even more than 'I enjoy it'' (I 023). More importantly, however, this discussion thread highlights that when presented with a change to this Object, the response of these 16 Officers is to rally round and defend it as it stands, a reaction mirroring that of the 113 Officers who completed the questionnaire when a similar 'threat' was posed through a question in its final section.

After re-stating the Object at the top of the page, the first of three questions in this section, wholly concerned with the Object, asked: 'Do you think the Object is relevant for today's young people?'. A simple Yes or No was required at this stage. All of the 113 respondents completed this question, with 103 answering in the affirmative, six the negative, and four both Yes and No. Their choice here, though, was undoubtedly influenced by the second part of the question. If the respondent answered Yes, they were then prompted to answer the question; 'why?'. Similarly, if No was selected they were asked; 'what would be a more appropriate Object?'[108]. This latter follow-up question hence presented the respondent with a similar 'threat of change' to that posed by the original 'post' above. As a result, each yes respondent presented an individual defence of the Object's contemporary relevance. Only four respondents chose not to reinforce their affirmative tick with a written explanation.

Although some Officers did seek minor tweaks to the Object's wording[109], the Object's relevance is resolutely defended: 'Why not? It is just as important as it was 100 years ago' (Q 00108). Seven other leaders echoed these sentiments and a further six went a step further,

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majority consisting of two-thirds of the votes cast at a duly convened meeting of the Brigade Council' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 7).

[108] Although absent from the main text it would be wrong to exclude those alternative Objects that *were* offered. One Officer returned to the words of The BB's Mission Statement adopted by Brigade Council on 4th September 1999 by noting; 'The Boys' Brigade will care for and challenge boys through a programme of informal education underpinned by the Christian faith' (Q 00008). Others penned their own compositions: 'The development of boys physically, mentally and spiritually and to instil a feeling of high personal esteem and self-discipline whilst teaching the value of their role in the community' (Q 00025); 'In this materialistic world, a simple disciplined approach' (Q 00098); 'Perhaps, for Boys to God to Manhood' (Q 00033).

[109] These tweaks to the Object took the form of additions (e.g. 'add 'care and concern'' [Q 00094]), deletions (e.g., 'I believe that the Christian word should be dropped' [Q 00090] or substitutions (e.g., 'need to modernise [the] terminology for habits' [Q 00002]; 'A more boy-friendly wording may be more appropriate to the youth of today' [Q 00064]).

suggesting that the Object is more relevant than it was previously, in one case – clearly (re)connecting with Officers' concerns expressed in CHAPTER FOUR – because of 'all the outside peer pressure to go from the 'straight and narrow' path, the Object is probably more important now, but probably less thought of by the youth of today' (Q 00075). Further scrutiny reveals that there are two platforms from which this defence is launched: firstly, on the basis of the habits at the Object's core, and; secondly, the importance of the Christian message which prefaces these habits.

Dealing with the former, the habits are perceived to be 'a good grounding' (Q 00044; Q 00030) 'for a full and honest life' (Q 00111). They are considered to give a boy 'basic moral principles on which to base his life' (Q 00030) in order to help him 'attain a good life balance with proper understanding on how to lead a good stable lifestyle' (Q 00035). In short, the Object provides 'a firm foundation for launching a career in life, creating the right impressions, character and bearing' (Q 00095). But it is also perceived to lead to a *useful* life, producing 'more confident and better focussed young men' (Q 00045), 'respected adults' (Q 00055), and, ultimately, 'good citizens' (Q 00086) who will play a full and active role in society;

> [The Object] focuses on the development of the body, mind, self-control; all qualities admired by others and potential employers. BB members and ex-members usually do well in their communities and state that a good grounding in their youth set them with a good foundation (Q 00097).

There is another base from which this defence is launched: namely, that the Object's habits are absent from today's society. One Officer's rhetorical reply to the original question is insightful; 'Ask: do you think these qualities are lacking in today's society?' (Q 00103). A further seven Officers sharing similar sentiments lament the lack of these habits. Indeed, some go further, suggesting that their relevance is heightened 'due to deterioration in standards of morality and lack of consideration for others' (Q 00011). But it is the role of the Object as in some way providing a navigational aid across this moral landscape that is considered most valuable. For example, one Officer notes; 'Young people receive less direction now than they ever have and will follow bad examples if not shown good examples' (Q 00078). The contours of this moral terrain are then directly mapped onto a real-world 'environment' that is not only perceived to be more 'hostile' than that which surrounded the Founder in 1883 (Q 00003) but littered with 'temptation' (Q 00093; Q 00042). Thus, the Object as a navigational aid is considered to steer young men along alternative paths, equipping them with 'self-discipline' in order to 'cope with the many pitfalls put in their way' (Q 00001). There is a wider sense that there has been a 'break down in social behaviour', moreover, and that the Object provides an 'alternative lifestyle' (Q 00067) which serves as a counter-balance. For example, Officers note;

> The values are still applicable today and perhaps more so. If some of the youth had these 'morals' then perhaps we would have less crime, underage drinking and violence, and although not all the problems would be solved it would give the youth of today a better starting point (Q 00023).

While there are still lots of good kids, there are problems with some youth regarding social behaviour and habits. If we could get more youngsters following even the 'habits' above then such good habits would only serve to make better citizens (Q 00079).

This final Officers use of the word 'even' does belie a hope that the Object can, and should, do more. In doing so he hints towards the second platform for its defence: its Christian foundation.

For some the importance of the Object is that it enshrines in the ethos of the movement the forging of a Christian connection, which may be 'the only way many [young men] hear about Jesus' (Q 00027). For others, Officers 'must' not only 'continue to spread His word' but consider it their 'responsibility [...] to demonstrate how Jesus can help in our lives' (Q 00050). As one Officer succinctly stated; 'Christianity must be shown to work' (Q 00016). The BB's specific role as what some consider 'the 'mission arm' of the church' (Q 00019) will be fleshed out below, but for the moment it is that the Object emphasises the spread of a Christian message in a 'secular' society (Q 00014; see also below) and a demonstration of a Christian life through example.

One final response to the initial question does serve to sum up the feelings questionnaire respondents (and, in should be noted, interviewees) have towards the Object;

> Over the years I have had many attempts such as this to re-write the Object as more relevant to 'today'. Like the Lord's Prayer or the ten commandments, the Object says it all better or more succinctly, and like them may need explanation but not substitution (Q 00066).

Drawing primarily upon interview material, this chapter aims to provide some 'explanation' of this Object, not only as a believed in 'core' (I 017) of the movement, but as a guide to Officers' practice. It begins by imitating a task undertaken in these interviews, and mirroring the way in which the Object is understood by Officers, discussion will weave through each element of the Object, beginning with its first phrase and ending with the final word that prompted the debate that opened this chapter. After these manoeuvres *within* the epistemological space of the Object, discussion steps outside to critically consider the construction of 'the self' the Object 'tends towards'.

AN OBJECT LESSON

Although subject to a forthcoming review of the Company Section award structure and programme, upon first enrolling in the 'Company Section' new 'recruits' are presently encouraged to embark upon their 'Target Award'. This award, which serves as an induction programme, can be awarded after a minimum of 'eight weeks continuous service' (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: 29)[110]. After

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[110] To obtain their Target Award boys must complete eight elements: i) Church, Company and Brigade knowledge; ii) the Bible; iii) simple drill; iv) knots; v) use of a compass; vi) first aid; vii) safety; and, viii) physical activities. This may be supplemented by an optional Target 2 award which requires 'a further minimum of four months service and cannot be presented before Easter of the year in which the boy is 12' (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: 29). This supplementary programme includes seven core activities: i) BB knowledge nationally and internationally; ii) Drill; iii) an introduction to the award scheme; iv) a programme of physical activities; v) adventure activities; vi) interest activities; and, vii) Christian faith (*ibid.*).

devoting a page to finding out information about their own Company, and on the next The BB Motto and Emblem, a *Target Awards Workbook* dating to c.1983[111] turns its attention to the Object;

> Many things in The Boys' Brigade have changed over the years but one thing that has changed very little from the time that William Alexander Smith started the Movement is the Object. This is the aim and whole reason for The Boys' Brigade Movement existing. [... Y]ou should learn this Object by heart because it is and always has been the real strength of The Boys' Brigade. Many men have achieved true Christian Manliness by following the BB Object all the days of their lives and most can remember it, word perfect, years after leaving. It is one of the first things that you learn in The Boys' Brigade and the last thing you forget (The Boys' Brigade, c.1983: 6).

A challenge is then set: boys must finish a partially completed Object, being advised beforehand; 'Remember no looking up the page for the answer' (*ibid.*). The 'lesson' continues;

> To help you remember the Object write it out on a piece of cardboard, then cut the cardboard up into a jig-saw which you then have to put together again. You will see below how to space out the words on the piece of cardboard before you cut it up. Do not make the pieces too small (*ibid.*).

Although this *Handbook* is no longer available for purchase (though the exercises it contains are still used[112]) two decades later the current *Company Section Handbook* (in circulation since 1993 and last printed in 2000) contains a similar exercise (but this time without the 'don't cheat' warning). It states; 'There have been many changes and developments but our Object remains as our Founder wrote it: 'The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys _____' *Can you complete it?*' (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: 7; original emphasis).

Conducting this Object lesson is a task familiar to most BB Officers. Indeed, given the high propensity for currently serving Officers to have been boys in the movement, they themselves may have learnt the Object in a similar fashion[113]. It seemed fitting, then, in interviews to invoke this lesson to tease out their understanding of the Object. Adopting a similar format to the task used to ask Officers about the motivations behind their service as BB Officers, at a suitable point in the interview Officers were presented with the Object broken down as follows;

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[111] This *Target Award Workbook* is itself undated, although can be dated to around 1983. On page 17 in a section entitled 'Important dates in the history of the Brigade' two events are listed as having occurred in 1983: i) 'Centenary of The Boys' Brigade' and, ii) 'Pre-Junior Section changed to Anchor Boys', and whilst the former could be occur*ring* the latter had already occur*red*. Moreover, on page 28 the Scottish Headquarters is stated to be located at BB House, 168 Bath Street, Glasgow. Scottish Headquarters did not move from these premises to their current home at Carronvale House, Larbert until 1984.

[112] For example, one interviewee noted; 'The boys have got to learn it but again it's, stand up there, they stop, you continue and they've learned it or you throw them down in a jigsaw type thing, make it into the Object' (I 018).

[113] It should be remembered that questionnaire findings suggest that of the 99 male respondents who completed the question enquiring about boy membership, 89 (89.9%) were members of The BB in their youth (see also CHAPTER THREE).

THE ADVANCEMENT OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM AMONG BOYS

AND THE PROMOTION OF HABITS OF

OBEDIENCE

REVERENCE

DISCIPLINE

SELF-RESPECT

AND ALL THAT TENDS TOWARDS A TRUE CHRISTIAN

MANLINESS
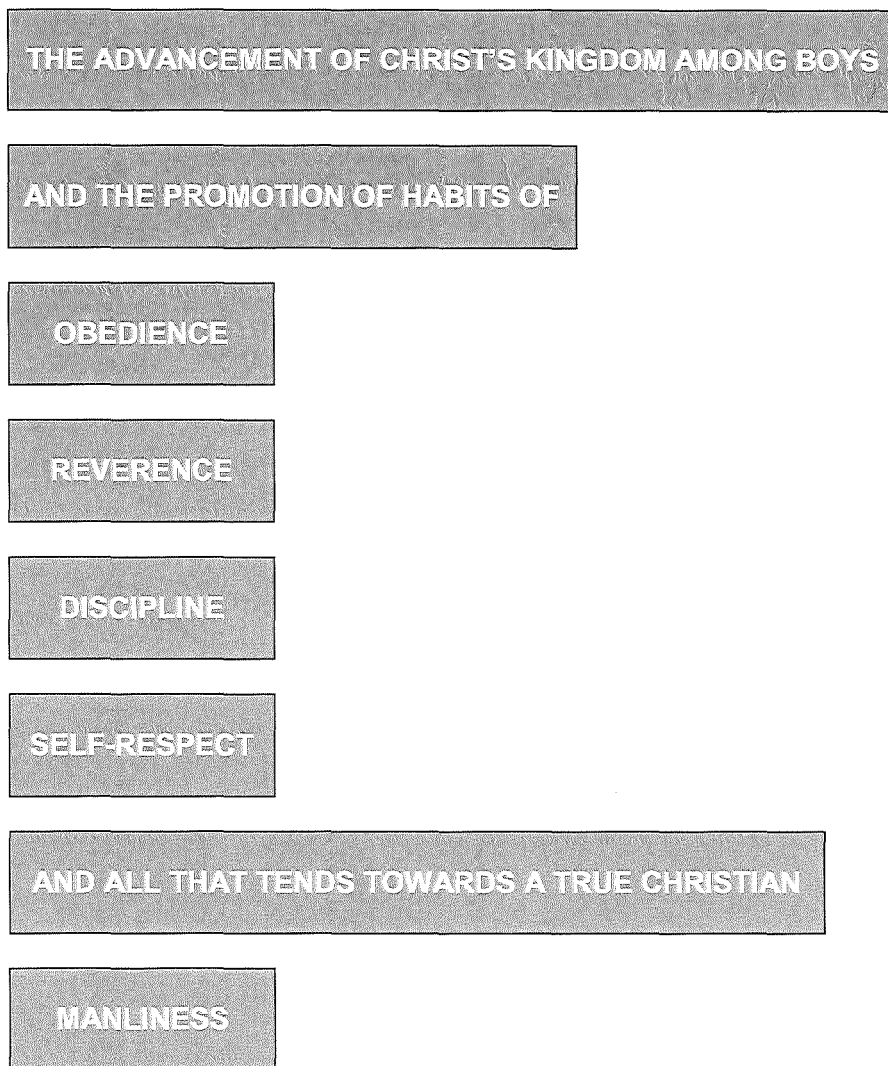
The question I then posed was how they interpreted the Object. Each interviewee then proceeded to reflect upon the Object, taking each element as broken down on the sheet in turn. Before moving to consider these Officers' responses, a note should be made regarding this breakdown's creation.

DISSECTING THE OBJECT

Considering the Object as a whole it could be suggested that it has two distinct – yet interlinked – parts. It sets the Officers charged with its fulfilment two aims; i) 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys', and; ii) 'the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline and Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness'. Importantly, the first 'and' creates two component parts; Christ's Kingdom is not advanced *through* the promotion of these habits (at least not by the rules of English language). It seemed appropriate, then, that this first phrase was considered separately, hence its isolation in a 'box' of its own. The second half posed more of a challenge. Here it was important to prompt Officers to think not only about the *process* of encouraging habits, but also those specific habits (Obedience, Reverence, Discipline and Self-Respect) that they were charged with fostering. Moreover, the relationships between these four habits, in addition to how they are singly accomplished, demanded exploration. As a result, an initial statement questioning the process of promoting habits (i.e., 'and the promotion of the habits

of') was allocated to its own box and followed by each of the four habits in separate boxes. Finally, the Object's last phrase: clearly, the statement 'and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness' implies that these four habits alone are not all that is required to attain the goal of 'true Christian Manliness'[114]. This final phrase must then be considered separately. As evidenced by the email discussion, however, the phrase Christian Manliness does itself possess great significance. Historically, the phrase invokes the notion of 'muscular Christianity' propagated by the public school apostle Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* published in 1857, and popularised through the novels of G.A. Henty (notably a BB Honorary Vice-President [Springhall *et al*, 1983: 25]). The underlying ethos of Dr Thomas Arnold's pioneering reforms at Rugby which so inspired Hughes – setting apart muscular masculine team games from effeminate intellectual scholarship (*ibid.*) – was, indeed, echoed by Smith when he remarked as part of a speech at a Sunday School Union Conference later reported in the *Sunday School Chronicle* of 11th May 1888 (Gibbon, 1953: 80);

> It also seemed to us that by associating Christianity with all that was most noble and manly in a boy's sight we would be going a long way to disabuse his mind of the idea that there is anything effeminate or weak about Christianity; an idea that is far too widespread among boys, as no one who has anything to do with them can have failed to see (*ibid.*: 80-81).

But this raises the crucial question of how this phrase is understood by contemporary Officers when it is removed from this Victorian context and distanced from the work of Dr. Thomas Arnold or 'his admirer' (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 25), Thomas Hughes, by history. In order fully to understand what Christian Manliness means as a whole, it was therefore decided to parse the phrase into its two component parts and allocate the latter its own box at the foot of the page. It was also suggested to Officers when discussion moved towards this final phrase that reading through the Object and stopping at Christian made as much sense grammatically as it did with manliness added as the final word. In this way an in-depth reading of the Object was presented by each interviewee. What follows is a weaving of these readings into a single explanatory narrative. This narrative moves through each of these 'boxes' in turn, a manoeuvre which, as will be discovered, is not merely for expediency, but mirrors the way in which the Object is understood.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM AMONG BOYS...

As noted earlier, in the 'pivotal year' of 1874 William A. Smith established a Young Men's Society emulating the YMCA (see INTRODUCTION). That organisation, founded in 1844 by George Williams, aimed to 'influence young men to spread the Redeemer's Kingdom amongst those by whom they are surrounded' (Springhall *et al*, 1983: 23). Perhaps unsurprisingly, there are clear parallels between Smith's and Williams' adopted Objects. Yet, the ambiguity over precisely how

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[114] Indeed, Peacock (1954: 32) notes; 'Clearly the whole of the Christian virtues could not be enumerated, but most of the others could be covered by the fine comprehensive phrase, 'and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness''.

'the Redeemer's Kingdom' is spread is mirrored in the key question of how 'Christ's Kingdom' is advanced? In a sense, the central question of this inquiry is, what is the nature of, or vision for, The BB's Christian Mission set out in this phrase?

Seven months before establishing his Young Men's Society, on 12th February 1874, Smith wrote in his diary 'Heard Moody and Sankey for the first time' (Gibbon, 1953: 18). Exactly two months later, on 12th April, Smith wrote; 'Joined the church' (*ibid.*). He had been raised in a Christian household through attendance at the Parish Church in Thurso, and on arrival in Glasgow he continued to maintain his Christian connection through attendance at the Free College Church with his uncle. This was the church that Smith joined, and it was at its mission hall in North Woodside where he established The BB (Gibbon, 1953: 29). The mission of Moody and Sankey during the spring of 1874 undoubtedly played a key role in bringing Smith to Christ and a lifetime of Christian service. Indeed, the significance of this event is implied through Gibbon's supplementary note to Smith's diary entry of 12th February that year; 'This is the one entry written in ink; the rest is in pencil only' (Gibbon, 1953: 18). Despite the clear influence of the American evangelists on his own faith, Smith later 'expressed distrust of some of the sudden conversions of the evangelistic mission type and dread of the reactions', and, as Gibbon continues, 'he always had a dislike of pledges' (1953: 19). While it is true that Moody and Sankey's 'campaign marked a change from the intellectual approach based upon the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Westminster standards to a more emotional approach based upon evangelical experience' (Forrester and Murray, 1996: 99), it was the permanence or otherwise of the faith resulting from such gatherings that was the root of Smith's scepticism. One later episode is particularly revealing. Gibbon recounts an anonymous BB Lieutenant's anecdote;

> Smith hated sensationalism in religion. During the mission of Chapman and Alexander in Glasgow (about 1912) they invited the Battalion to a special meeting. He had been enormously impressed by Dr. Chapman's power as preacher and evangelist, and they met frequently. He agreed on one condition – that there should be no invitation to the boys to profess conversion publicly, nor any 'Inquiry Meeting' afterwards. Carried away by the emotionalism of the mission, I urged on Sir William the desirability of getting the boys to make a definite decision Christwards. I'll never forget his reply. 'L——,' he said. 'By using the necessary means I could get every boy in the Company to profess conversion, and it wouldn't be worth the breath expended.' He always saw far into the future, and dreaded the inevitable reaction which follows such emotionalism (Gibbon, 1953: 30-31).

While Smith 'did believe most earnestly that words and example inspired by God could, and often did, bring one suddenly and strikingly to a realisation of the need to be born again, to bring Christ into one's life, and to give that life to His service' (Gibbon, 1953: 29), he also did not envisage the 'advancement' of Christ's Kingdom as a drive for sudden 'conversion'. Instead, as Gibbon continues;

He also believed that the ordinary man or woman receiving such a message needs to meditate and ponder, to examine oneself honestly, to pray for guidance, help and strength, remembering and guarding against the undoubted fact that hasty emotional impulses are generally followed by equally hasty reactions (1953: 29-30).

It should be noted that Smith himself embarked upon two months of meditation and self-examination before professing his commitment to Christ and joining the church. A second episode perhaps adds to the understanding of the Object's first phrase. Although originally not intending to make a speech, and only doing so due to demand and the chairman's request, on the occasion of The BB's first public meeting held in London's Exeter Hall in May 1892 Smith himself provided some reflection upon his Object's opening line;

> The phrase in our Constitution, 'the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys,' has been called the keynote of the Brigade. I do not know much about music, but I understand that the keynote is the note to which all other notes require in some degree to conform if anything approaching harmony is to be attained. If this be so, I think the definition is a peculiarly happy one. 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom' was the flag we raised at the very beginning. That flag has never been lowered, and today we lift it higher than we did before. We believe that the very existence of The Boys' Brigade depends upon the maintenance of the high position that we took up at the start. It depends upon it for two reasons. First, because of its effect upon the boys, and, second, because of its effect upon the Officers. As to its effect upon the boys: it leads us to surround them at all points with influences that make for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, and for a higher and better life. We do not want, by making boys religious, to spoil them as boys, but we want to break down once for all in the boy's mind the notion – by no means confined to boys – that religion is a thing for Sunday and Sunday school, with no particular practical bearing on the rest of his life. We want to teach them that in every part of their lives, in drill and football, as well as in Sunday School and Bible Class, there must be this great underlying principle if they are to be of any real service in the world.
>
> As to its effect upon our Officers, it is because underlying all this external aspect of the work – its drill, its music, its military accoutrements – which naturally presents itself most largely to the public eye, we have got the deeper personal influence which the Officers continually exert upon the boys, that we believe that if it is to be the success we believe it is capable of being, we must keep this principle well to the fore-front. He is the true Officer who loves his boys, who believes in his boys, and who is prepared to give up everything for the sake of his boys. If we can fill our ranks with Officers like this, I am convinced that the *boys* will never fail us. If some companies have lapsed, as some are bound to do, we can truly say that it has never been the fault of the boys. It is not too much to say that if the boys are taken the right way you can do practically anything with them (quoted in Gibbon, 1953: 102-4; original emphasis).

The similarities between the YMCA's Object and that adopted by Smith are perhaps more pronounced than at first glance: both share an understanding of 'advancement' or 'spread' as a longer-term process of continual 'influence' rather than a short-term emotion-fuelled conversion.

Though serving as an important touchstone, these historical observations do not, however, answer the question of how current Officers understand this phrase.

Initially it is of interest to note that Officers often reduce the Object to its first phrase. For example; 'The advancement of Christ's kingdom among boys that's really the Object as far as I'm concerned' (I 023); or, 'At the end of the day it is a Christian organisation and the advancement of Christ's Kingdom is what it's really all about' (I 003). Indeed, in answer to an earlier question regarding motivations, one Officer stated; 'Believe in the organisation's Object? Well, that's really the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom' (I 011). It would perhaps be fair to say that this phrase remains, to invoke Smith's 1892 speech, the 'keynote' of the Object. Yet, this is not where the similarities end between Smith's own understanding and that of current Officers. Many also share his scepticism over sudden conversion;

> I think that at the end of the day when they've had that, when they're 16 or 17, they've registered it, it's then their choice as to whether they become a Christian or not. I don't think we attempt really to evangelise and to convert anything. I think that's quite important because particularly [...] where we're working we could have Catholics, we could have Protestants, we could have Hindus, we could have Muslims, agnostics, atheists, the whole spectrum. And I think our job, certainly in the community working with young people of other faiths, is not to say well, that's wrong. [Rather,] this is what the Christian faith's about, this is what it means to be a Christian. If you want to take that up you've got the information. There's the will and there's the choice and we'll support you no matter what you do (I 008).

The overall reading of the phrase 'advancement of Christ's Kingdom' mirrors the notion of outreach that emerged in a different context – that of the motivations behind service – in CHAPTER THREE. The 'advancement of Christ's Kingdom' is viewed as the imparting of knowledge about Jesus' life, love and teaching so as to allow boys to make an informed choice as regards their personal faith, and supporting them in whatever decision they make. As one Officer succinctly notes; 'Is the aim to get everybody to be a communicant member of the church? I think our aim is to give boys enough information and make them aware of the Christian message so that they can actually make their mind up' (I 012). And here, teaching (I 022; I 014), worship (I 008; I 014) and example (I 015; I 008) emerge as crucial aspects of this process of awareness-raising. Not only is hearing about Jesus' life and worshipping God important, but vital too is seeing the lives of Christians;

> 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys', well, I mean, we are a Christian based organisation. We are there to promote the word of God [...]. I do not take that as seriously as some of the Officers. Other companies, they see it as a divine role; we have to spread the word of God. I mean I get them ten-year-olds up to 16. They're not ready to commit to a faith, they wouldn't know, they don't have enough life experience or anything like that to say I am a Christian and so on. The best thing that I can do is lead by example, show them the benefits of the teachings, even if you don't believe the Ten Commandments, a good set of rules to live by, nothing wrong with them. You don't

have to believe in God, they're good rules. Just go through all that sort of motion and if they want to be a Christian then, if not, not a problem (I 015).

When Officers were asked in the questionnaire to reflect upon how the Object is achieved, 'by example' emerged as the second most frequent response, finding favour with 31 of the 102 respondents who answered the question, some 30.4%[115]. Officers often viewed themselves as 'role models' (Q 00060; Q 00107) and considered how 'expos[ure] to the moral standards of the staff' (Q 00045) – i.e., their 'own habits of life' (Q 00049) – can encourage boys 'to recognise and value as worthy of endorsement and practice by him' those 'skills, knowledge[s] and values' that Officers 'support[ed] him' in 'accessing' (Q 00031). Of the process of 'nurturing a faith by example' (Q 00014), one Officer notes;

> I believe strongly that each leader can do the majority of this [the Object] by his actions alone. Each one of us are like a small preacher/minister. These boys/men will observe, look and listen to us. We can show weakness, but by showing strengths and a belief in them we may give them something that they can't get elsewhere: love, leadership, discipline, and above all, friendship and fun (Q 00022).

Equally important in others' eyes is the interweaving of teaching, worship and example throughout the evening meeting;

> On a Thursday night we start off with Bible class and [...] that's the main input to the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, [it's] promoting how you should live as Christians. That's carried out through the whole night as well though, because we don't expect boys to be bullies, we don't allow any foul language in the church hall, and we encourage them not to use it outside either. But certainly in the church hall we expect them to have respect, not just for God, but themselves and the other boys. We expect respect for their property. [...] Respect for the actual environment, the church halls, other folk have got to use them. And by doing all that, at the end of the day, I see it as advancing Christ's Kingdom. It's having respect for other people, other property, self-respect. Bible class [...] concentrates mainly upon Christ and the way we expect them to live, but we bring the theme through because obviously; 'what were we talking about earlier on tonight? Did that just mean words to you?' (I 018).

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[115] The 'programme of activities' run by Companies emerged as the most frequently noted response, with 40 Officers (39.2%) including reference to this. In addition, the 'varied' and 'structured' nature of this programme emerged as the most frequently noted (with nine and five respondents doing so respectively) of a range of adjectives used to describe the programme (i.e., progressive [Q 00007], modern [Q 00003; Q 00096], relevant [Q 00015; Q 00028], controlled [Q 00013], vibrant [Q 00017], balanced [Q 00087] integrated [Q 00048], supportive [Q 00034], protective [Q 00034], appealing [Q 00028; Q 00045; Q 00051; Q 00054] constructive [Q 00009; Q 00012]). It is important to place these responses in a broader context: when asked in an earlier question 'what does the presence of your BB Company contribute to your community?', nine Officers (8.4%) noted 'a structured programme of activities'. Two elements of this programme 'Bible Class/Christian education' and 'Drill' emerged as the third and fourth most frequently noted way in which the Object was achieved, with 27 (26.5%) and 15 (14.7%) respondents noting this (perhaps unsurprising given that Article 3 of *The Constitution of The Boys' Brigade* makes these two elements central to the fulfilment of the Object; 'The Object shall be promoted by Christian teaching, drill and such methods as may be recognised by the Brigade Council [...] of value to the training of Boys' [2001: 1]). Finally, teamwork takes its place as the fifth most frequent response; just over one in ten respondents (10.8%) noted its importance to achieving the Object.

Alongside flagging the distinct embodiment of the Object in and through everyday spaces that provide the focus of the next chapter, evidenced in both this and, especially, the previous quotation is a clear sense of 'mission'. Despite acknowledging the difficulty of their task, there remains a hope that through their action and example Officers can bring boys to a personal relationship with Christ. For example, before going on to note 'The advancement of Christ's kingdom among boys doesn't necessarily mean that we're going to bring them into the church, but we're still advancing Christ's kingdom' one Officer remarked 'If I could get one boy to stand through in that sanctuary there and commit himself and join the church I think I'd be doing pretty well doing that' (I 023). As noted earlier, the obstacle preventing this goal is perceived to be a general decline in religious observance. In earlier questionnaire responses, society is frequently envisioned as 'secular' (Q 00014), 'Godless' (Q 00034) or one which 'ignore[s] religion [and] the church' (Q 00080). Indeed, the fact that knowledge of the Christian faith's basic tenets can no longer be assumed is often cited as evidence of this erosion of Christianity in contemporary society;

> I suppose where I would say when I was brought up you were getting Christian teaching, you were at the Sunday school, you were at the school. The BB for a lot of these boys, well, I think there is still a little bit of religious observance in the schools, but for a lot of them what they get in The BB is all they get. So when you start talking about, say, the parables of Christ or even, well, maybe I shouldn't be surprised [...] we started talking about 'Our father who art in heaven', and the boy said; 'What's that? What's that called? There's a name for that'. I think he finally remembered it was the Lord's Prayer. But certainly with that, maybe you shouldn't, you get shocked. Yet it's the way this society just is. So to a certain extent we are teaching them things that they are hearing for the first time. [...] It's just a different setting from when I was their age. And maybe it's even got worse or the situation's changed in the last five, ten years, I don't know. So whereas I would say that still the motto and the Object are important, at the same time, we've almost got to take it step by step because you don't know where they're at. Things the BB could take for granted 20, 30 years ago you can't. And again [...] maybe [...] I feel that what you do by example and action is sometimes more important than the teaching side of it (I 010).

But, although the blame for this 'worsening situation' is often levelled against society in general, it is also squarely placed at the feet of parents. Frequently, the lack of a 'Bible in the house' and will to attend church is lamented;

> We've got to accept now that in fact the majority of parents that send their boys to BBs don't have a Bible in the house, they don't even attend church. At one time I used to run a Bible class on a Sunday morning and I had to literally capitulate on that because boys were simply not turning up because parents couldn't be bothered with sending them at ten o'clock on a Sunday morning. So therefore, we now run a quite in-depth Christian faith class, so that in fact we don't force boys to attend it, but we do give every opportunity of advancing Christ's kingdom among boys (I 019).

What Officers do sketch then is a field ripe for missionary activity, and responses here – taken together with those outlined in CHAPTER THREE – do point towards an understanding of their role as one of outreach. Yet, the form of this activity also echoes that noted previously. On this field The BB 'does the groundwork' (Q 00005); Officers are sowers of seed later to be harvested: 'If we can sow seeds that we can reap in their twenties, mid-twenties, late-twenties then I think that's a win-win scenario' (I 001). Officers' spatial imaginary of mission is not one of diffusion – disseminating a message fuelling short-term conversion to a particular way of life before moving on to deliver the message to others – but instead a longer-term cultivation *in situ*: Christ's Kingdom is advanced 'within [the] boy' (I 023) where they are, spiritually and physically, through the relationships established and, vitally, example.

...AND THE PROMOTION OF HABITS OF...

At the heart of the Object lie four habits. Yet, as mentioned previously, for the first decade of The BB's existence only three were to be promoted. Their selection has prompted Smith's biographers and admirers to reflect upon the reasons for the Founder's use of these particular words. For example, Roger Peacock (1954: 31) writes;

> While we may well look upon the Founder's definition as being inspired, how easily it might have been different! Probably no other man would have selected precisely the same virtues to follow the first phrase. The man is reflected in the words, and in them perhaps we may also discern the mind of the harassed official of a none too orderly Sunday School. What did the unruly Boys of the eighties most need? Surely, discipline, reverence and self-respect, which would be the first qualities to occur to Smith's soldierly mind.

Peacock ascribes Smith's selection squarely to his military training, the unique set of characteristics required for the production of strong soldierly bodies and minds. This episode does, however, throw into sharp relief the fact that the motivations behind Smith's choice of these words are now lost. It is perhaps fair to assume that these sprung from Smith's military training, habits here forged through distinctly repetitious acts. Habituation is a process of normalisation where doing something a certain way again and again over time becomes the 'right', and *only*, way to do something. A habit, as a 'right' way of being, is formed through 'right' ways of doing. Practices repeated – *habituated* – shaping the self along prescribed avenues[116]. Clearly, then, understanding what is to be achieved – the 'right' way to be – is the first step towards putting in place practices *which through their repetition* will be habit-forming, ensuring the aim of 'trying to develop them so that they are habits, that discipline is a habit, self-respect' (I 024) is achieved. The following discussion aims to draw together what are at times disparate understandings of these words into a

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[116] Of course, this assumes these practices of habituation operate 'properly' and are not disrupted *en route*. And it is just such disruptions – the acts of liberated subjects shaping the(m)self – that provides the focus for the final section of this thesis. Fault lines challenging the very prescriptions of self worked towards have been and will continue to open up as *this* couplet proceeds.

collective (contemporary) understanding of what each habit means. In each case, no one clear understanding emerges, but different dimensions are revealed. Consideration is also given to how these understandings (inter)relate.

...OBEDIENCE...

When added in 1893 Obedience took its place at the head of the list of habits. While noteworthy, history draws a blank in discerning a reason why it came to rest there and not, say, at the end of the list. Both Birch and Peacock do, however, ponder the distinction between, Discipline and Obedience;

> What (you may ask) is the difference between discipline and obedience – and why insist on both? Is there not a subtle distinction? Cannot discipline suggest the curbing of one's own individual inclinations for the common good of the Company or the community – whether 'under orders' or not? Does not obedience imply immediate response to an order, however unpleasant its performance may be? Both may be somewhat unpopular virtues in the modern age, but their worth has been proven again and again, in good times and ill, and in The BB (with the remainder of the Object) they have stood the test of time (Birch, 1959: 22-3).

> Only once, in the early days, was amendment made, by the addition of the word *Obedience*. It may well be asked why it was thought to be necessary to add to the first – the Founder's own – composition. Surely the greater 'Discipline' includes the lesser 'Obedience', and Discipline is the more robust word, without the suggestion of servility which may be thought ill-suited to the present democratic age (Peacock, 1954: 31).

The need for Obedience's insertion at all is, thus, subject to debate. On the one hand, the essence of the word was already enshrined in the original *Constitution* which stressed; 'Strict discipline shall be enforced, and all members must submit to the authority of the Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers placed over them' (quoted in Shaw, 1983: 3): obedience, at least in part, concerned with 'submission to authority' (Pearsall, 2001: 981). On another, though, obedience also carries with it a concern for 'compliance with an order or law' (*ibid.*). Since the former understanding was, from the first, considered a 'habit' worthy of attaining, it could be speculated that the need to foster the latter prompted its insertion to the Object in September 1893 (Gibbon, 1934: 40); and this despite The BB's first annual report of 1883-84, penned by Smith, stating; 'Prompt, cheerful obedience to all orders was made a *sine qua non*' (quoted in Shaw, 1983: 3; original emphasis). Although some Officers lament the demise of the 'hierarchy of The BB' (I 015) and thus erosion of the first understanding of the word Obedience, it is the second understanding of the word's meaning which is stressed by current Officers. For some, the importance of encouraging Obedience to orders is bound to the notion of safety;

> I think discipline and obedience are very much linked. Obedience is being able to take an order when it's given but also to have the foresight to know why it was given. One of the things I always say,

there are certain things that I say you will do and when I say it I expect you to do it. I don't expect to be questioned on it because it's for your safety, for my safety and it's for the safety of everybody else. And it's getting them to understand that obedience is necessary (I 008).

One interviewee recounts an episode where the importance of Obedience comes to the fore;

I was in the merchant navy for ten years after I left school. I can actually remember being in a serious situation, there was a fire on board the ship. [...] One of the cadets had been an ex-BB boy. I was in the pump room with a seventy feet vertical climb, seventy feet down. By the time I got to the top I was absolutely shattered and I [needed to] set off the fire alarm, and I know fine well if it'd been any other of the three cadets, we had four cadets, they'd be; 'why?', 'what's wrong?', 'what's up?' If you wanted the alarm set off, I just said 'set the alarm off now', and he [the ex-BB cadet] [...] could tell by the tone of my voice. He did it. And I said that's a good BB upbringing, I bet he did drill, and we used to laugh about this, but I mean, deep down I was being deadly serious. But he didn't ask [whereas the others clearly thought] 'I can't think what I'd have done if you'd asked me to do that'. 'How about, setting off the fire alarm?' [laughs] 'You're sitting aboard an oil tanker that's about to maybe explode!' [laughs] (I 018).

For others, however, Obedience is not simply the ability to act on an order from those 'in authority' but intimately bound to respect for those 'in authority'. For example, one Officer remarks; 'If an Officer says something or is involved then they are respected and they carry it out and do it as they should do' (I 011). Indeed, for a second Officer Obedience 'comes as a by-product of respect' (I 022). It is often considered as enabling rather than disabling;

The obedience is not a subservient obedience, it's an obedience that allows you to work as part of a group and achieve something as a group. It's not somebody standing shouting at you and making you do things. It's about your self-respect (I 004).

Some of it's about obedience, but maybe we need sort of something that can temper that as well, because is it always right to just be obedient, unthinkingly? Or do you need to have a wee bit about thinking for yourself and deciding whether this is a lawful order or not, if it's appropriate. So it's maybe a bit about tempering this with appropriateness (I 001).

What emerges is an understanding not too dissimilar to that of Peacock, Obedience subsumed within a sense of discipline bound to self-respect and self-control;

Obedience, again [...] I see that as still relevant today and we do it through the work with squads that they will obey the instruction, they've to bring their PT kit, their full uniform that they have to stand properly in their squads[117]. Or that when they're taken out to football, [...] they behave properly when they're told not to shout, 'Rangers, Rangers, we will follow Rangers' when they're passing Celtic Park or something like that [...]. Or on the football park, that when their manager shouts from

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[117] The embodiment of the Object evident again here will be returned to in the next chapter of this couplet.

the sideline 'zip your mouth and walk away', that they have the self-control and obedience to do that (I 005).

...REVERENCE...

Reverence causes confusion: 'if you can explain to me what reverence is that's fine' (I 001). Of the habits it is the one Officers are 'not too comfy with' or 'sure about' (I 023). They 'struggle to know what it means in the context of the Object' despite consulting the dictionary (I 022). Often connected with the 'spiritual side of The BB' (I 023), one Officer suggests that it 'should be a period of quiet, contemplative, that borders on the reverence' (I 005). Another has 'always thought it meant like a kind of quiet, moody, contemplative, let's think about what we're doing type thing' (I 022). Indeed, it is often associated with the creation of an 'ambience' (I 009), in particular, through making what might be termed 'sacred places' and in special circumstances[118];

> Reverence, well, in a spiritual context you would say we wouldn't for instance allow boys to play tig in the church [...] sanctuary [...]. So there's this thing about a special environment or special circumstances. We wouldn't obviously take the Lord's name in vain. We don't accept bad language. These sort of things. This is more Christian than anything else, in terms of there's a special type of behaviour there, that we want to extract from young people (I 020).

Reverence is, then, considered an attitude allied with an appropriate behaviour set;

> We make it quite clear to the guys that when we're having the opening service and prayers at the end of the night that we expect them to be at their best behaviour. For a lot of them they probably don't even know what reverence means to be fair. But we would be fairly strict (I 012).

But, as alluded to in this Officer's comments, while boys may be aware of the expected behaviour associated with particular activities in particular places, they, like the Officers, have difficulty grasping exactly what reverence means. As one Officer succinctly remarked; 'I don't think the boys really know what that's about. [...] When we're teaching the boys the Object I'm not too sure that they actually 100% know what we're talking about when we say we're promoting reverence' (I 023). Similarly, a second Officer suggested;

> I don't think a boy, if you were to say to a boy 'what does reverence mean?', they'd be like that; 'what?' He wouldn't know. I think it's a word that was just probably used 120 years ago. What you could substitute it with I don't know (I 022).

Stripped of its nineteenth-century context, in the minds of current Officers reverence is either associated with a behaviour set in a special (sacred) environment (e.g., the church sanctuary) or, more frequently, explicitly religious activities of worship and prayer. There is, however, a second understanding which emerges echoing the dictionary definition of the word as a 'deep respect'

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[118] These remarks strike a noticeable chord with Conradson's concern for the atmosphere central to the realisation of fully living organisational spaces (see 2003: 1979; also INTRODUCTION).

(Pearsall, 2001: 1225): a 'respect for people' (I 008). Thus, Officers consider reverence to be 'more than just a respect for the church' but 'respect for others round about you' (I 017). Yet it is also bound to a notion of how one treats another and the appropriate form of this relationship. Reverence 'comes down to how they deal with other people, the way they conduct themselves' (I 018). Officers are charged with 'encourag[ing]' boys 'to be mindful of other boys' feelings, and, in fact, be mindful of how they speak and treat, not only their peers, but also those who are in charge of them' (I 019). Here this Officer hints towards the third dimension of reverence which is revealed through close reading of Officers remarks: reverence is also about encouraging boys to have respect for authority;

> If they're talking to the staff, to respect them for who they are and try to let them see that we're not just human beings but it's folk who are actually giving their time up to come down and help them and they should respect that aspect of it (I 018).

Reverence is often associated with a fear or awe for the deity, and while the behaviour desired of boys by Officers in the special environment commented upon above could be speculated to approach this, it does not extend to those in authority; frequently their authority is challenged by 'cheeky boys who are quite happy to talk back'. But, as this Officer continues; 'we try and show them that this is not the way to do things, this is not the way to say things' (I 011). Boys, once fearful, test authority to 'suss out' those in charge; 'I've found that you've got new boys coming in and [...] until they suss you out they will, to a certain extent, give you that kind of respect, reverence for your position' (I 010).

The three-fold understanding of reverence which emerges is then an equation of reverence with respect in what could be termed human relations (i.e., with peers and those in positions of authority). In those of a spiritual nature, however, this respect approaches reverence, associated with a particular behaviour set in special sacred environments. Boys are encouraged to foster the habit of revering God and respecting those around them.

...DISCIPLINE...

If confusion reigned reading Officers' reflections on reverence in the context of the Object, there is little bewilderment in their understanding of the place of discipline: 'I think that's quite apart from the first line of the Object, 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom'. I think discipline is coming a very close second and we really should keep that in there' (I 023). Discipline within the context of the Object is considered in two different – yet related – ways: a distinction is made between 'imposed discipline' (I 024) and 'inbuilt discipline' (I 022);

> It's a harsh sounding word when you say discipline, everybody thinks of the punishment side of discipline. To me discipline is when you are doing drill or you are doing something whereby you have to concentrate, you have to pay attention, and you have to listen. That is an inbuilt discipline in you. Can you stand still for ten minutes when you're meant to stand still? If you are doing a

12-minute drill routine at squad drill from the minute you go in that door to the minute you go out it have you got the self-discipline to pay attention, concentrate and just get it over with? I don't think of that discipline as other people would, the punishment side of it: you will do this, I am telling you [...]. That to me isn't what the Object displays in discipline. It's an individual discipline. Have you got the discipline? (I 022).

Drill and, particularly, inspection of uniform, are considered vital in encouraging self-discipline; both serve as distinct disciplinary technologies working towards a particular dressage of the body and mind (see CHAPTER SIX). This forcefully emerges when Officers reflect upon the recent change in uniform which has meant 'a lot of that has actually gone [...] because you don't have to polish it' (I 018)[119]. And this, despite the fact that others question whether the uniform ever functioned in this fashion;

What we found was when you were inspecting belts it was more likely his dad did it, or his mother did, or just tell granny that she's missed a bit this week. So, to be honest with you, the actual belt part of it what we were finding was the parents were more likely to clean the belt than the actual boys were. So that from the discipline point of view, cleaning the belt and looking after the uniform, I mean some of the uniforms were absolutely superb but it was obvious that the boys hadn't done them. It was more the parents that had done or the grannies or big brothers (I 011).

Subtle subversions of practices designed to develop self-discipline as a habit notwithstanding, the principles are thought to feed into other activities of the Company;

They still have to learn how to wear their badges properly, make them look smart. And if it's maybe explained to them that by doing that then when they do go in to play football, it's the discipline of keeping the rules of the football game, it's not just the wearing the uniform and drill it's when passing the ball you're not allowed to put the ball above the waist and you don't do that, and keeping calm on the park. [...] The disciplines are the same for uniform, for drill, for the games (I 018).

While many Officers (I 008; I 010; I 024) echo one Officer who notes 'the emphasis in my mind is on self-discipline rather than just general discipline' (I 005) they also do 'still support the concept of general discipline' (I 005) primarily because boys 'should be prepared to listen, to be told, to act

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[119] Meeting in Dundee in September 1999 Brigade Council agreed with proposals brought forward by a Uniform Reform Group (URG) to change the uniform. As a result in Company Section the accoutrements of a white haversack with brass button and a brown leather belt with brass buckle were replaced by two options: a blue polo shirt and blue sweatshirt, both with The BB emblem embroidered onto it, or a more formal shirt, again with the emblem embroidered onto the breast pocket, to be worn with a tie and black leather belt and buckle. This latter option was introduced by the URG in response to 'some concern that for Company and Senior Sections proposals were perhaps too informal in appearance' (The Boys' Brigade Annual Report, 1998-1999). Field-service style hats were originally removed from the uniform but following a non-constitutional motion in the name of Northern Ireland District at Brigade Council meeting in Brighton in 2000 that 'At the option of the relevant Officer, boys, staff, staff sergeants and Officers may wear a hat with hat badges and surrounds relevant to their rank or section', this option to wear a hat was retained. The vote was carried by 17 votes (217 for, 200 against). The following year a bid was launched in the name of Glasgow Battalion at Council meeting in Northampton to permit the wearing of the 'old' hat, belt and haversack uniform after 2006, the date originally set – and agreed at Council in 1999 – by which all Companies should be in the 'new' uniform. This was, however, defeated by 77 votes (134 for, 211 against). Despite this, at least one of the Captains interviewed plans resolutely to resist the uniform change by continuing to wear the 'old' uniform.

on what they've been told, and that they know where the parameters are of what's acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour' (I 005). Indeed, one Officer notes;

> Discipline is something I'm quite hard on in this Company. And because of that I think, being the Captain as well I suppose helps with it. But because I'm quite tough on the discipline of the boys I get a lot of respect myself from the boys and the staff to that as well. But I think a lot of Companies might fall down on discipline a wee bit. And I think today's modern boy needs discipline (I 023).

Similar sentiments are shared by a second Officer who 'always see[s] discipline as a structure' (I 008). She continues;

> And all children need a structure in which to work. They need boundaries. And that gives them a feeling of security and safety. They might not always like those boundaries and they'll push against them, and I respect a boy that will challenge that discipline. But up until, I would say, they're 16 years of age they don't have minds of their own. They need to be guided and led. And hopefully, if you've done your job properly, by the time you come to 16 plus they actually have a good foundation and they feel secure and safe in themselves. And it also develops their own self-respect (I 008).

The interweaving of respect and, especially, self-respect with discipline in these quotations is interesting. Despite being considered distinct, 'inbuilt' and 'imposed' discipline are thought to work with and through each other towards self-respect such that 'self-respect and self-discipline are linked' (I 008). One Officer's aside is perhaps, then, an axiom for other Officers' understanding of discipline; 'I think discipline, self-discipline, self-respect; I'm not sure if I could analyse the difference sometimes between them' (I 012).

...SELF-RESPECT...

Just as the above Officer struggles to distinguish discipline, self-discipline and self-respect, when discussing the latter Officers often conflate self-belief, self-confidence, self-esteem and self-worth, with connections noted (e.g., 'self-respect and self-esteem go sort of hand in hand' [I 017]) or causal relationships between them established (e.g., 'self-respect comes from self-belief and motivation, and the confidence that we try to instil in boys' [I 013]). Moreover, a lack of confidence is identified as the reason why this habit should be instilled. As one Officer remarks;

> We find a lot of the boys [...] have a number of talents which [...] they don't really show off as much as they're due. [...] Sometimes they are very shy and they put themselves down an awful lot of times. [...] I think it's a lot to do with the schooling that they go to, I don't know what it is, whether or not everybody wants to be Mr. Average or not, I don't know, but sometimes they also have a lack of confidence as well, I believe (I 011).

Having identified the need to promote self-respect, Officers set out the process through which this habit is encouraged. Although composed of two distinct strands, these invariably weave together:

self-respect is fostered: firstly, through showing respect towards and gaining respect from others; and, secondly, through individual successes.

On the one hand, some consider that if boys 'Show respect for others [...] then [they]'ll have [their] own self-respect' (I 010), whereas on another that 'if they get respect amongst other boys that again boosts their own self-respect' (I 018). It is a third Officer who perhaps elaborates best on this two-way process by considering its cyclical nature which, in pulling individuals together as a team, incrementally raises each member's respect for others and themselves;

> [I]t's about teaching them about respect for [...] themselves, but primarily for others. Because if we treat each and every one of us [...] well, that will come round to you. As part of that circle of treating everybody else well [you] will be treated well and your respect will rise [...]. I mean every Company has them, there is the wee fat guy, age 12, just joined the Company Section, is not physical in any way, shape or form but can't do anything. How do you give that wee guy self-respect and encouragement to do what he's got to do? You can't just say 'right, well, you sit out and the rest of us'll do it'. That's not right. So you have to then work on his respect. His respect's lower than everybody else's. So it's again by getting everybody to work towards him. [...] I suppose bullying's a strong word, but the wee snide comments that they all make towards individual boys to me does a lot of harm towards what we're trying to build as respect for them. We're a team. If that guy goes to a competition for me or does something wrong, we've all fallen, we've all done it. I don't individualise anybody when it comes to things like that. We're all the one team. And that's what I try and build into them. That it is a team game. Yes, when you go and get your Queen's Badge you can quite rightly stand there proud as punch with your parents patting you on the back [...] and take all the plaudits of the day. But for the five years that it's taken you to get there, we've all rose together to get you there. And I really like the idea of a team. I hate picking individuals out in anything at all. If individuals shine, then they get the praise when it's due, but self-respect I think comes from proving that we're all the same, that we're all part of a big team (I 022).

As alluded to above, an integral part of this process is both success as a team and individual successes. As one Officer succinctly comments; 'If they're successful in whatever they do then they do start to believe in themselves and they do start to respect themselves and other people' (I 013). In a similar vein, a second Officer's anecdote points to exactly how this is achieved, in this case by encouraging boys to answer a question correctly;

> We try to encourage this at Bible class or even badge work, you're not having the same one shouting out all the answers. You're trying to encourage the others. You're trying to make them feel that they do know the answer. And I was actually quite a shy wee boy myself believe it or not [laughs]. I would never say boo to a goose. I used to always let the bigger ones or the older ones answer and I don't know if I'm right you weren't quite sure of it and it helps to bring that out, 'well, what do you think?' And once they get the answer right once or twice, 'I know that', and they're more keen to give you an answer out the next time. If they get the answer wrong, you've got to make sure that, 'good try there' or 'not quite' rather than say 'och don't be so stupid' (I 018).

It may be the simplicity of the success of answering a question highlighted above or the complexity of the squad system rooted in competition to be explored in CHAPTER SIX; both, in their own way, encourage the development of self-respect and, as one Officer notes; 'Quite often if you get that bit sorted out then a lot of the other things just happen. They just come along. They follow' (I 004).

As highlighted by Officers' considerations of the connections between self-respect and (self-)discipline at the beginning of this section and these Officer's comments above, the isolation of each of the habits in 'boxes' of their own is, to a large extent, artificial. A more accurate understanding of the four habits at the core of the Object recognises the fact that 'you can't take one out of there; all four are linked' (I 008); that 'they're all much more intertwined' (I 004). Indeed, in a focus group discussion four participants reflected on their understanding of the habits *in toto*;

I1: Each and every one actually leads to another...

I2: It's progression.

I1: ...they're all interlinked, because if you have self-respect and you teach self-respect it leads onto the BB and so they have respect for you...

I3: But it also is a form of discipline.

I1: ...it all intermeshes there together...

I2: Yeah.

I1: ...if you know what I mean, each one leads onto the other and backwards I think as well.

I4: Aye, certainly (I 017).

There is a sense here that, not only do the habits 'intermesh', but they collectively 'progress' towards something; 'They build up on each other and you end up with an end picture' (I 004). And on the interwoven canvas of the four habits the composition which emerges is a picture of boys' personalities;

Basically, reverence, discipline, self-respect that's really all that we're working on, trying to build up the boy's personality, make them responsible people, responsible for their actions, try and make them better people in all senses (I 015).

Promoting these habits is about equipping boys with a 'character set' that will ensure that they are 'not going to go far wrong because people will be able to rely on [them], people will be able to trust [them]; it's going to stand [them] in good stead for later life' (I 001) and that they are *useful* individuals;

It's providing a guideline to life really. If you've got no self-respect, no self-discipline, no reverence, no obedience then you're not going to be much good to anybody. You require all these things no matter whatever your walk of life, or what your beliefs are (I 002).

These four habits are hence all 'about developing boys' (I 001). The Object is considered to be 'a very holistic thing. You tend not to approach one part of it, because you tend to be dealing with a

whole boy' (I 004). Yet, despite the fact that some feel 'if you're doing all that [i.e., promoting the habits] [right] that [i.e., all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness] should fall in place automatically' (I 016), others believe 'the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect' to be of 'less importance, because you could have these four habits but not be a Christian' (I 020). Thus, the final phrase of the Object concerns more than just a 'progression' to development but is considered a route 'towards' *Christian* adulthood.

...AND ALL THAT TENDS TOWARDS A TRUE CHRISTIAN...

Despite one Officer noting; 'I think maybe this manliness word related more to [the Founder's] era than it does today, I would be quite happy to leave that manliness bit out and just finish there' (I 023), these sentiments are not widely shared. Indeed, when discussion turned to the Object's final phrase the words 'Christian' and 'manliness', split on the sheet used to aid discussion, were seldom separated in Officers' minds. While to do so made sense grammatically it did not practically: 'if it just stopped at Christian that would be about we're just about producing Christians, but I don't think we're very good at that' (I 001). He continues;

> But by adding manliness there it's about characteristics to me. It's about saying, well, you know, what's Christian manliness? It's about having this set of behaviours. Maybe being a Christian means you've got a set of behaviours. But maybe if it just stopped at Christian it makes you think we're just going on about the Bible, whereas adding manliness at the end there makes it more about a behaviour set rather than being a Christian (I 001).

Similarly, another Officer 'wouldn't chop this [i.e., Manliness] off' adding 'for me I think it's the most important bit' (I 020):

> What is it about? I say to people this is what this is about: this is about not just making a decision, this is about making the right decision based on Christian principles (I 020).

The phrase 'Christian Manliness' for this Officer is the nineteenth-century equivalent of modern day armbands which through their use of the acronym 'WWJD' serve as a reminder to their wearers to consider before every action 'What Would Jesus Do' (I 020): in short, Christ becomes the model aspired towards. The phrase, rooted in a Victorian public school ethos, therefore, still has currency in a twenty-first century context, but the questions surrounding how it is interpreted remain.

...MANLINESS.

Despite the fact that, as one Officer admits 'it is easy, especially when you see manliness on its own to develop this macho image' and that boys themselves 'tend to think macho for manliness'

she resolutely states; 'It's not' (I 004)[120]. Her vision of Christian Manliness is brought to life in a very real sense by considering an elder in her church when she was a teenager:

> [He] was [question directed to her husband also present during interview] what, about five feet eight tall? He wasn't a very big bloke. Beautiful tenor singer. Short and respectable chap. Miles away from your image of muscular Christianity. And yet [he] was everything that you would have said was Christian and manly embodied in one person, and yet totally away from that image. [...] [He] wasn't like that at all, but he was probably the most Christian man I have known (I 004).

For a second Officer, 'the concept of manliness' is 'that they have respect for themselves, and they have respect for women, they have respect for other children and that they have a control over their own feelings. It's a bit like what's in Galatians, and the fruits of the spirit are goodness, I can't remember, but there's a whole raft of them and they all end in 'ness'[121] (I 005). He continues;

> We shouldn't be teaching them that to be a man is you've got to be macho, that you beat women, that you carry guns or knives, and that the only way you can prove you're a man is if you can knock the pulp out of somebody. That isn't what manliness is about. It's about being true to yourself. It's about all the things that are there: the Obedience, the Reverence, the Discipline and the Self-Respect, and this respect for others who are not necessarily brought up in the same way that you were brought up (I 005).

The emphasis placed on Christian manliness is, in short, about demonstrating that 'It's not not manliness to be a Christian' (I 006). Indeed, another Officer in his 'post' to The BB discussion thread – Re: [BB] Object – prompted by the original email to the mailing list writes;

> Undoubtedly, a lot of people, including BB Officers, find the reference to 'manliness' an embarrassment: they equate it with chauvinism. Boys, however, as anyone who knows them soon finds out, long to be men, and they will find their own macho version of manliness, unless we give them a Christian version of it. 'A true Christian Manliness' goes to the very heart of what we are trying to do for Boys (Officer 2, Post 17).

On the process of setting out this Christian version of Manliness, an Officer commented;

> We'll try and talk about it in a way that will not make the boys turn off or think we are out of [the] norm or out of step. Because that's one of the things we try to do. Try to show that to be a Christian man you can still be part of the mainstream and not thinking that that takes you out of the mainstream into some niche that makes you different (I 024).

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[120] Here it is interesting to note that the *Company Section Handbook* – reading material directed at boys – notes under a section entitled 'Standards'; 'Don't be persuaded by others to do things just because 'they are macho' or 'everybody's doing it'!' (2000: 26). Interestingly, this statement, printed in bold, is preceded by warnings against the abuse of tobacco, drugs, and alcohol, recalling the concerns of Officers in the previous chapter (see CHAPTER FOUR).

[121] In Galatians 5:22-23 Paul writes; 'But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control. Against such things there is no law' (NIV, 2003: 1753).

And this version is about specifically demonstrating that 'going to church isn't for softies [...] you can go to church and be a man' (I 018):

> Doing manly things isn't getting drunk on a Friday night. [...] You don't have to swear and smoke. And if you're standing up for Christ it's probably more tough inwardly than it is going out and drinking pints and 'oh, I can drink 15 pints, I must be a man'. It's a lot harder to stand up and say, 'yes, I believe in Christ' (I 018).

Two opposing visions of masculinity are set side by side in this and other quotations, but this Christian masculinity is also born against the background of an image of the church as a female, and particularly elderly female, place; 'If you look round the church it's in the main a lot of old women. So I think promoting Christian manliness counters that because young people, boys, need to see that it's not a bad thing to be a man, and you can be a Christian and be a man, and have a role model of a Christian man as well' (I 008). Another Officer notes the importance of using Officers as role models to demonstrate that young men have 'an important role in the church';

> Probably one of the things that I think, a lot of churches are perceived as being like a lot of old ladies. I think the thing we've been trying to get across to them, I'm the oldest out of all the staff, so the rest of them are 22, 25, things like that. And I think it's using those people as role models. [...] If you said to a lot of our seniors, the younger guys, we want you to get involved in the church it would be 'oh, that's all old people'. But actually young men can be Christian and play quite an important role within the church. I think it's probably what we've been trying to get across (I 012).

But, it is a process enacted through example (I 019; I 018). One Officer perhaps puts this best when he remarks;

> My idea of Christian manliness is to lead by example, I suppose. And I'm not professing that I am the ideal Christian man, but it's showing them tenderness, caring, attention, just being there; when they need to speak to me I'm there. [...] And it's by doing that, show[ing] them that it's cool to be a member of the church. If you're a teenager, and you fancy joining the church and all that, it's not cool. 'So all right, ok, I know I'm 20 years older than you but I go, what's wrong with it?' I've got to go out in the big bad world like everybody else, but I still go to church. And [...] the Christian manliness [...] it's maybe by putting myself up on a pedestal to say, well look, if I can do it, you can do it (I 022).

Providing these role models is not only perceived to be important in steering boys away from a negatively constructed 'macho masculinity' and/or towards securing a place in a church associated with (elderly) femininity, but also in light of a wider societal setting of the lack of male role models. As one Officer notes;

> A lot of the kids, not necessarily in our Company, but a lot of the kids that we may work with throughout the Battalion certainly come from homes where their parents have split up and they don't

have a role model in terms of, it's more common to lack male role models. And I think it's quite important to maintain that. I've no objection to working with girls' organisations at all, […] some of the things that get done in the churches, the Guides, stuff like that. But boys need somewhere to be boys. And enshrining that in the Object is an important thing. Because if we walk away from that, then I think we lose our distinctiveness as one of the very few organisations, uniformed or otherwise, that's particularly working with young men. And I think that's something that's very precious (I 008).

This vision of Christian manliness propagated as an alternative version of masculinity actively competing with its 'macho' counterpart and female-centric church notwithstanding, overwhelmingly the contemporary understanding of the term Christian manliness is one of maturity.

Officers often reflect upon the fact that in a BB Company 'we take them as boys and we should see them out the Company at 16 or 17 as young men' (I 005). An important 'aspect to The BB' is that 'you're growing up' (I 002); 'when they leave The BB they'll no longer be a boy; they become a man' (I 011). The Object's final phrase is the target 'aimed for' (I 008);

> I don't have any problem with that phrase at all because I think what you're aiming at is a matureness both as adults and as a Christian. And even if they don't continue with the church I think that maturity can be obtained (I 003).

Maturity is, therefore, the end point of the Object. But, the Object's composition is also considered as a logical path towards this point, a route towards maturity. And it is this understanding that underpins the writing strategy adopted; 'You've gone from boys at the start to manliness at the end, and hopefully you've taken in all the other factors on the way' (I 002). The Object is, in short, about 'developing from boyhood into adulthood' (I 015). Indeed, the emphasis placed on maturity is often evidenced in Officers' use of a particular form of address; as boys get older they are called 'young men' (I 017; I 003) and, as one Officer reflects, this is enshrined in the application of the term Queen's Man to those who are conferred The BB's highest award; 'it's interesting that you say you're a boy and then you become a Queen's Man' (I 002).

Clearly, Christian manliness is considered to be synonymous with maturity, yet some Officers go a step further and would change the Object's final word to maturity. As part of a focus group discussion three Officers reflected;

> I1:   The only bit I would change and I think…
>
> I2:   Manliness.
>
> I1:   … […] the minister's take on that I quite like…
>
> I2:   True Christian Manliness.
>
> I1:   …he calls it true Christian maturity…
>
> I3:   Mmm, yeah that.
>
> I1:   …this, this means nothing to boys now manly, you know, what's manly now? Goodness me (I 017).

In this case, though, the substitution of manliness with maturity was a mistake, yet a mistake which prompted an Officer to reflect upon the true meaning of the Object as a whole;

I1: I liked the minister's one because it was his first enrolment and he actually I don't think he remembered...

I3: No, he made a mistake.

I1: ...about the manliness, he made a mistake and he said maturity and I remember sitting thinking, yeah, that's still right because this whole thing is aimed at boys, it's not aimed at us...

I3: No.

I1: ...it's aimed at boys (I 017).

In a similar vein, an Officer posting his reply to the initial e-mail list question writes; 'our Object is not to uphold the spirit of Officers (much as it is important in other ways) it is to bring young men to the church and Christ' (Officer 3, Post 16). Discussion has, then, returned to the online debate. While here manliness was similarly considered 'a great goal to aim for' (Officer 4, Post 3), some 'can think of nothing better than' the change to witness 'given out by [the] pastor' (Officer 5, Post 3) in the chapter's opening quotation, and others do 'prefer witness' (Officer 1, Post 7), more alternatives are also postulated. For example, 'true Christian life' (Officer 6, Post 11) also enters discussion the day following the original email. It similarly gains a mixed response. Some 'think that 'true Christian life' would be fine and possibly more appropriate given modern language usage' (Officer 7, Post 12). Others question its substitution;

> Manliness is described as 'having qualities traditionally attributed to a man'. Christian manliness is therefore 'having the qualities of a Christian man'. Is this the same as Christian Witness? No, I don't think that it is – manliness seems to me to encompass much more than witness. Is a True Christian Life the same as True Christian Manliness? Again I would think no. A true Christian life is something that one HAS, whereas true Christian Manliness is something one IS. There is therefore a BIG difference between these things, and it is important as Officers and Leaders of the Brigade that we know exactly what our Object is and what it means – otherwise we stand no chance of ever achieving it. Yes, there could be a question of whether manliness is an appropriate word in today's culture, not because some companies are crossing the gender boundary, but because people simply do not understand what it means, as is evidenced by the so-called 'alternatives' that have been suggested, that do not mean the same thing. The thesaurus suggests: courage; gallantry; manhood; sex; valour; and vigour. Are these the same thing? Some of them clearly aren't. So, the question remains as to whether it is possible to reword the Object and yet retain its meaning? And I would say that no we can't – and so in order to retain our aims, we must retain our Object as it is. The Object of The Boys' Brigade – the very purpose for the existence of The Brigade, and therefore the purpose of everything we do (including everything we send to this mailing list) – is the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys and the Promotion of Habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness (Officer 8, Post 13; original emphasis).

Debate rages over the Object's final word, but, as this Officer's post alludes, it is not a debate confined to the virtual realm of an online discussion forum in 2003 but has contemporary currency in light of the already occurring admission of girls into membership, which has been the subject of (albeit inaccurate) press coverage in both *Young People Now* (31/08/2005–06/07/2005: 5) and *The Sunday Times* (Horne, 04/09/2005: 7)[122]. In a mixed-sex organisation the Object will inevitably require alteration, indeed many assumed this was precisely the question that the isolation of manliness in its own box was trying to prompt. The understanding which emerges here, however, is that any such substitution which does not place emphasis on maturity would not reflect current Officers' understanding of the phrase 'Christian Manliness'.

A STEP OUTSIDE?

Without the confines of the Object's epistemological space — its own sphere of meaning construction — the 26-word statement of purpose serves as a route towards the production of particular 'selves'; it provides a model for right living, a vision of a Christian citizen. Underpinning Officers' remarks is a clear sense that the pursuit of at least the habits leads to the betterment of the self, and consequently, through better selves, a better society. Thus, embodiment of the Object is the aim. To flip Peacock's dictum of the Object's creation on its head; the words are reflected in the man. And, as the stress on maturity evidences, it *is* the man which is at stake, his formation shaped by habituation, such that habits become personal character traits; i.e., words

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[122] The admission of girls into membership of The BB is the most controversial issue facing the movement at present. In 1996 a Girls' Association was 'set up under the auspices of the Centenary Memorial Sunday School', a registered charity which also provides accommodation for the London District offices. According to the Association's website, 'it supports and encourages those Companies and Churches who wish to work with Girls as a full part of their activities, doing so by means of joint working with kindred Girls' groups. This may mean working jointly with a Girls' Brigade Company or other similar Girls' Organisation or, alternatively, it may be considered more convenient to work with the Girls' Association' (The Boys' Brigade London District, http://london.boys-brigade.org.uk/, Last accessed: 09/09/05). At present the Association has 18 Companies in membership and 'provides access to Insurance cover for Girls who are not members of any other Organisation, Uniform, which is similar to Boys' Brigade but does not bear The Boys' Brigade legend, and some Awards, for use with The Boys' Brigade curriculum' (*ibid.*). The question of the admission of girls was placed squarely on The BB's agenda through a non-constitutional motion proposed by six Officers, all from Companies in London District, that 'The Brigade Executive is instructed to bring a Constitutional Motion to Brigade Council in 2005, which would allow Companies to admit girls into membership where it is the desire of the church or sponsoring body and where no appropriate organisation is established for them'. The motion was carried by 42 votes (131 for, 89 against). Being a non-constitutional motion only a majority was required, not the two-thirds majority needed for a constitutional motion. The Brigade Executive, while instructed to bring a motion to Brigade Council in Londonderry in 2005 did not, however, do so. Following the motion's acceptance, the Brigade Executive sought legal advice in light of The Sex Discrimination Act 1975, as it quickly became apparent that, if The BB were to admit girls into membership, it could lose its exemption under the terms of this act. A statement read on behalf of the Brigade Executive to Brigade Council in September 2005 'confirmed that it was indeed a possibility'. The statement continued; 'It should be emphasised that it would not be against the law for the Brigade to adopt and implement the policy of limited admission of girls to membership as has been suggested. However the Brigade would then be open to legal challenge by any girl refused membership of a Company or asked to leave under the scenario envisaged earlier [i.e., 'The situation could arise that a Company was given permission to admit girls. Sometime later, the Church, for whatever reason, might decide to start an organisation for girls, or perhaps even a mixed sex organisation. The BB Company would then have to transfer its girl members to this organisation or ask them to leave. There would be at least the potential for upset']. If such a complaint were upheld, then the Brigade, the local Company or the Church could be ordered to pay compensation to the aggrieved young lady'. As a result (and with the consent of the proposers of the original motion to Council in Leicester in 2004) the matter was returned to at the September 2006 meeting of Council in Cardiff where a constitutional motion permitting the admission of girls into membership was debated and voted upon. The motion failed to achieve the two-thirds majority required to change the constitution. The intricacies of this legal context were not highlighted by either of the articles cited in the main text at the time; neither appreciated that it was not the decision to admit girls which had been deferred but the bringing forward of a motion to Council which would enable such a decision to be taken.

become lived. Yet, in steering boys along this path to maturity Officers are (unwittingly?) holding society up to a mirror. It is precisely that they *do not* want to see society – and particularly its more macho conceptualisation of masculinity – reflected in the boys that prompts them to redouble their attempts to instil an alternative: a Christ-like maturity. Christ's example, not society, is the model. Indeed, society and Christ are almost always held in tension rather than Christianity perceived to be part of society. The underpinning belief is almost that if boys were 'left to their own devices', to allow society to shape them Christian maturity would not be attained; a hegemonic vision of masculinity would 'win out' and their counter-hegemonic conceptualisation would not surface. There is, therefore, an implicit assumption, explicitly expressed by a few, that society is secular, and resultantly at best a neutral influence, and at worst potentially destructive (see CHAPTER FOUR). Certainly, it is perceived to do little to release latent potential, to elevate to 'better' selfhood. This alternative life is worked towards through recourse to a model which Officers believe to sit uneasily in contemporary society, a model of masculinity which is at one and the same time both strong and open to weakness, both competitive and compassionate, both dominant and submissive: in short, a model of self embodied in Christ, Himself Word become flesh[123]. Considered *relationally*, however, the Christian model of masculinity remains wed to a patriarchical vision, and moreover (albeit more subtly) an underpinning sense of heteronormativity (Connell, 1995). Boys – become men – must not only treat women with respect (I 005) but also assume a position of leadership within the family. Almost implied in some interviewee's remarks, one Officer makes this explicit, interestingly through recourse to Biblical text; 'Can I also say that it is actually in the Bible, that man should be central to the family unit' (I 008). She continues;

> The man, the male, should actually be the leader within the family. I know we've got [laughs] emancipation and all the rest of it nowadays and it's found that families tend to work together, but families split up now more often than they did then. But, I mean, the father figure was the central role in a family, so it does actually have a biblical significance (I 008).

Perhaps, then, in previous lamentations surrounding the loss of male role models there is a commensurate sense that this model of the family should be recovered. In short, though a *counter-hegemonic* vision of masculinity is proffered, it is largely a *past* hegemonic vision perceived to have been encroached upon by modern society; the hegemonic 'turned' over time. Officers' reaction is resultantly to turn 'back' temporally and textually rather than radically challenge; i.e. step outside. This critical observation on the 'family model' notwithstanding, of equal import is that the model of Christian adulthood required to assume this 'central' position is aspirational, yet never achievable. Consequently, Officers too are always in a state of achieving through a *process* of habituation; through teaching, worship and example. They do, then, holding themselves up to

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[123] John writes (1: 1-2): 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning', and again at verse 14, 'The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the One and Only, who came from the father, full of grace and truth' (NIV, 2003).

this model frequently recognise their failings and communicate these to the boys. They acknowledge that they are 'working towards' *becoming* Christ-like, and are thus disciples, discipling to others. They hence (unknowingly?) take Christ's own instruction to his first two disciples on the shores of the Sea of Galilee at its alternative meaning: Christ's instruction to 'Follow Me' not only as a proxy for 'be led' but also 'follow me as a model of self'; imitate me. And this understanding is both critical and compelling. Critical, in the sense that Officers do clearly perceive the Object as a 'moral code in which [boys] live their lives' (I 008) as a means to elevate their standing in society ensuring they 'better' themselves and become more productive, useful citizens. Compelling, however, in that by positioning both Officer *and* boys as in a state of *becoming* (Christ-like), common ground is opened up which is essential for a nuanced appreciation of the spaces of structured youth work as those of collective accomplishments and through which fissures, already hinted towards throughout this chapter – that will prise further apart as the thesis progresses – are cut into this terrain by both 'parties', faulting (i.e., resisting, challenging, undercutting) the idealised theory through realised practice.

SUMMARY

Adopting a structure mirroring Officers' understandings of the Object, this chapter has served to dissect a phrase which is not only learnt by heart but, clearly, taken to heart: a defended core of a movement which informs practice.

Manoeuvring *within* the epistemological space of the Object its first phrase – 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom' – is interpreted as a vision for The BB's Christian mission which mirrors one of Christ's most famous parables: a mission field is considered to exist amongst today's young men and, through teaching, worship and, most importantly, example, Officers sow seeds which they nurture until boys leave The BB Company in the hope that Christ and his church will one day be able to reap the harvest of their efforts. The habits at its core are both interlinked and interdependent, flowing into the other almost seamlessly. In Officers' minds, Obedience is tied to a notion of Discipline conceived of as *self*-discipline, itself intimately bound to self-respect. Reverence is considered both in the sense that boys are encouraged to develop the habit of revering God and respecting both their peers and those in authority, the latter practice also being intimately linked to their own self-respect. In short, the habits are interwoven to create a character set which is thought crucial to young men's development and preparation for future adult life. Finally, Christian Manliness is perceived as the provision of an alternative masculinity, one that both prevents boys developing their own sense of a macho masculinity and which enables them to play an active role in a church associated with elderly femininity. But, the Object is also considered to work as a whole, and to work logically to a specific goal, that of the attainment of maturity in general and a Christian maturity specifically.

Without its epistemological space, however, the Object can be read as both 'a moral code' (I 008) with a message of self-improvement and, to a degree, social elevation at its heart *and* as a

shared objective whereby Officers and boys are together becoming Christ-like; i.e., working towards an aspirational masculinity which is perceived to sit uneasily with alternative hegemonic 'macho' conceptions of masculinity propagated by contemporary society (itself frequently drawn not only as secular but, consequently, spiritually and morally threatening).

WAYPOINT

>> CHAPTER SIX moves to consider how the Object is realised spatially: how the adoption of specific spatial configurations of bodies and objects for a short period of time facilitate technologies (e.g., competition, inspection, example) of self-discipline. It is contended that just as the Object is perceived to work *in toto* the disciplinary space created that is central to its accomplishment is also considered to function as a whole.

'THEY KNOW WHERE THEY STAND': SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS, DISCIPLINARY GESTALT

> Discipline. The boys like discipline. They know where they stand (Q 00106).

Traditionally, each Company Section meeting night begins with a period of formality. This period of formality is associated with a particular formation of bodies and objects in space. Yet, these formations represent more than simply a 'placing' of bodies and objects, but rather a configuration; a spatial arrangement of *related* 'things' for a specific *purpose*. This chapter argues that crystallised in these few minutes of formality, and through these specific spatial configurations, are the series of interrelated and interdependent disciplines ensuring that the disciplinary space central to the accomplishment of the Object discussed in the previous chapter of this couplet comes into being.

SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS

At the close of the second section of the questionnaire survey, respondents were provided with an opportunity to sketch the room in which their meeting night took place at the start and end of the evening. A simple key was provided for the *bodies* present during this time (+ Captain, ◇ Officer-In-Charge[124], ☐ Boys, ○ Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO), △ Other Officers) and respondents were encouraged to sketch any other *objects* (e.g., tables, books, colours) present that were important to the successful operation of this period of formality. All but two of the 98 Companies who chose to sketch their meeting room configuration began their evening with a period of formality[125]. Three configurations accounted for 76% of these 96 Companies'

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[124] Officers-In-Charge (OICs) are notably absent in Figure 4 overleaf. OIC is a position reserved for the individual in charge of each Section of a Company. There could, then, conceivably be up to four OICs in any one Company. As explained previously, each Company can only have one Captain. In practice, however, the Company Captain tends also to be the OIC of the Company Section. This is confirmed by findings from the sketching exercise in the questionnaire survey. Of the 98 Companies who completed the question and, therefore, had a formal opening, 54 (55%) did not sketch an OIC. Moreover, in only 5 sketches was an OIC present and the Captain not present. Of the 34 Companies with both a Captain and OIC present, in 21 the OIC stands beside the Captain at the front and in only five do they occupy a position beside the squads. In only two Companies does the Captain stand at the back of the squads or stand off 'centre stage'.

[125] At the end of a Company Section meeting night the formations adopted follow a similar order of frequency as those for the start outlined in Figure 6: Officers beside squads (19); Officers behind squads (19); Officers in front of squads (12). Heading this list, however, are 22 Companies who do not have a formal end. Additionally, 10 do not finish by reforming squads (cf. 2 who do not form squads at the start). This lends renewed importance, then, to the period of formality at the outset.

configurations (see Figure 4)[126]. In each case, boys are in 'squads', led by one or more NCO, and the Captain is positioned at the front of the hall. Variety is introduced through the position of Other Officers; beside, behind, or in front of Squads.

Figure 4 Configurations at the start of a meeting night

| .1 Officers beside Squads | .2 Officers behind Squads | .3 Officers in front of Squads |

(Instances: 33)   (23)   (17)
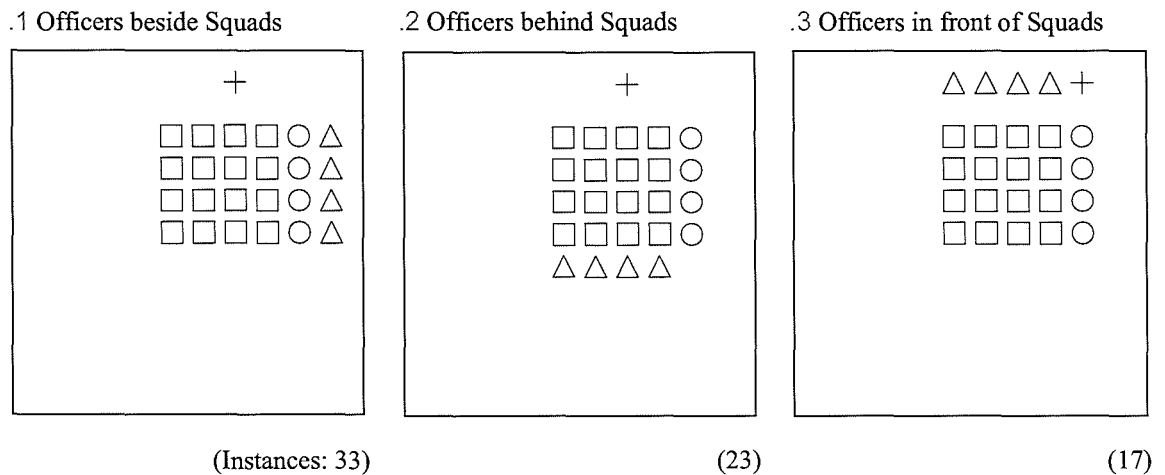
Note: Clearly each configuration sketched by respondents will have included a different number of boys, Officers and NCOs. In order to create the diagrams above (and those used in the 'task' during interviews), the pattern was replicated using the figures for the average number of boys present during a Company Section meeting night gleaned from analysis of the seventeenth question of the questionnaire survey (see APPENDIX 5, Table 19).

Simple counts of the number of iterations of particular spatial configurations does not, however, move an understanding of the purpose behind the adoption of such configurations very far. In later interviews a 'task' was therefore devised in order to encourage interviewees to consider such reasons. Each interviewee was handed a sheet which displayed the results of the analysis from this questionnaire exercise in full (see APPENDIX 2). Where possible, with the interviewer's foreknowledge of which configuration their Company adopted, each interviewee was then prompted to consider why they adopted this particular configuration. This 'task' did, however, also serve to facilitate a discussion about both the various roles of individuals (e.g., Captain, Officers, NCOs) during this period of formality and the relationships existing between individuals and groups of individuals. Discussion here turns first to this question of purpose as approached head-on, before moving to consider these relationships – and, crucially, their spatial expression – in order to move from these two-dimensional sketches of a meeting room to a three-dimensional representation of disciplinary space. But, first we need a caveat (of sorts).

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[126] It should be noted that a further five Companies begin their meeting night with a cross between the configuration of Officers beside squads and Officers behind squads (see APPENDIX 2, FIGURE 1). Including these five Companies these three configurations account for 79% of all the configurations sketched by respondents.

A CAVEAT?

'Traditionally, each Company Section meeting night begins with a period of formality.' This chapter's unassuming opening sentence is here repeated as it serves as a caveat to the discussion which follows: to a certain extent, it is indeed tradition *not* purpose that governs the formation of bodies and objects during this opening period of formality. As one Officer noted; 'Whether it's important or whether it's traditional is a fine line' (I 002). Other Officers, when asked directly why they chose a particular configuration, stated; 'it's always been done that way' (I 001; I 009; I 014). Indeed, for some, the formation mirrors that adopted by *their* Officers when they themselves were boys (I 005; I 014).

It is worth remembering that what is now tradition was once an innovation, however, and often *someone*'s innovation. Thus, the important influence that Officers in the past have had over boys who are now Officers themselves – i.e., the intergenerational and relational 'passing on' process explicated in CHAPTER THREE – feeds into current practice. For example;

> Tradition. That's the one [John] did that's the one I do. [John] had probably the biggest influence on the way I do things in The BB because he was doing it when I was a boy. So I just carried on his traditions (I 015).

Tradition may, then, not represent something devoid of purpose, simply continued because 'it's always been done that way', but traditional configurations may be adopted because continuing to 'do it that way' maintains its *original* purpose. One Officer perhaps puts this best when he remarks;

> To be honest with you it was the way it was done with me as a boy. It's tradition. That's the way I was shown 20 years ago as a Company Section boy. It's a system that works, I suppose. You can't reinvent the wheel; why change what works? (I 022).

Of course, this does beg a question in response; what is the purpose behind the adoption of specific spatial configurations? In short, *how does* this 'system' work?

TOWARDS THE 'SYSTEM'

Although for some the adoption of a particular configuration is due to pragmatic concerns (e.g., to ease administration [I 001; I 003] or communication [I 006; I 015]), it is also clear from Officers' remarks that particular spatial configurations feed into a disciplinary system. Discipline is effected through space. Put another way, space is enlisted as an active agent in the process of disciplining the very bodies that are configured. Here, however, discipline – as a state – is equated with the maintenance of order. The configurations adopted are therefore designed to minimise disorder. 'Whispering', 'laughing', 'mucking about', 'turning around', and 'giggling' are all actively discouraged through a specific configuration of bodies in space (I 003; I 001; I 015; I 020; I 020).

For example, one Officer, reflecting on his own practice in light of the other configurations presented to him, comments;

> But whether there's another way of forming up. Maybe it's better to form them in a square or whatever. I'm not quite sure. Or whether that causes its own problems as well because the guys over here make the guys over here laugh (I 001).

Similarly, another Officer whose Company currently forms up with two squads side by side recalls the reasoning behind the decision not to move to his preferred configuration of two squads behind each other;

> I think people thought that what would happen there would be that squads one and two would tend to turn round and have a laugh if something was funny or to see what somebody else was doing, or turn round to see what someone else was saying (I 020).

In both these episodes in considering alternative configurations, Officers reinforce either their own, or others', desire for order during this period of formality. On one level, then, the actual configuration maintains this order; it prevents boys seeing something that would lead to disruption. On another, particular configurations facilitate the maintenance of order through other means, most notably keeping boys in sight, these spatial configurations transforming The BB Company during these formal moments into a 'surveillance space'. As one Officer remarks;

> We rotate the [squads]. Squad one go at the front one week and then it's squad two. [...] Well that's what I do now. I think beforehand we just had them lined up as usual but we used to have all the troublemakers in the front squad so that [the Captain] could see them right at the front [laughs] (I 005).

The key role of the watchful – *pan*optic – eye in maintaining discipline during this period of formality is forcefully highlighted in the following conversation;

> I: We have the staff on the left flank. There's a reason for that as well. If you have boys in, that's what's called a close column of squads, and you've got staff behind them or even on the right flank facing the same way they cannot see the boys. Staff are facing into the flank of the Company, any nonsense they can see it straight away.
>
> **I: So that's why you do it like that?**
>
> I: That's one of the reasons for that formation. But, believe it or not, I can see virtually every boy from where I'm standing and will pull them up if they try and whisper to the guy next door during the formal part of the activity of the opening parade and closing parade. You develop a way of doing that. I can see whether or not they've got a button hole badge on.
>
> **I: Even from where you are?**
>
> I: Yes, through the ranks, it's amazing. You may have to surreptitiously move your head slightly when they're not looking so as to catch because of the angle. Because the button-hole badge is part of the uniform and in case it's not picked up by the inspecting [Officer], I'm sure it would be,

but even if it is, I'll comment on it when the inspection has been carried out. But that's the main reason they're there (I 003).

There are, then, two gazes in play here: the Captain's 'surreptitious moves of the head' from the front to catch sight of any misdemeanour, and the other Officers' glances from the side to spot any 'nonsense'. Of these twin gazes, this Captain goes on to note succinctly; 'I think it helps maintain discipline' (I 003).

The use of the term discipline here could be considered a proxy for the maintenance of order. Despite this evidence, suggesting that these spatial configurations are deployed to maintain order, there are more than simply authoritative gazes at play during these periods of formality, more than just discipline as a *state* of orderliness, when rules are followed. Instead, it could be argued that materialised within this formal period are those disciplines ensuring not only that order is maintained, but also that the Object of the movement is fulfilled. Self-discipline and example, considered to be central to the accomplishment of an Object and taken by Officers as a pathway towards maturity (see CHAPTER FIVE), are both achieved through interlocking disciplines (of uniform, competition, inspection) which operate through the squad 'system', a system which is established spatially during this period. Thus, before turning to consider the gazes and the roles of those adults (i.e., Captain, Other Officers) to which they belong, the role of squads during this period of formality demands exploration.

SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS

SQUADS

By December 1883, two months after the 1st Company of The BB opened its doors, the 35 boys who had enrolled[127] were organised into six 'squads' (Birch, 1959: 27; Gibbon, 1953: 44). This sub-division of the Company Section into smaller 'squads' of boys, mixed by age, and 'ranked', continues into the present. What is, then, of immediate importance is that a squad is distinct from a group of peers. Two groupings of boys come into existence at different times during (most[128]) Company Section meeting nights: the squad and the peer group; each being used for a different purpose during the course of the evening. For example, in one Company;

> At the start, our fall-in and dismiss and games nights we work in squads. Classes, we work in year groups[129] (I 004).

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[127] According to the first Annual report of The Boys' Brigade; 'During the first three nights 59 boys enrolled.' By November, when boys were asked to complete application forms, 35 boys 'accepted the conditions of membership and received membership cards' (Smith, 1884 quoted in Shaw, 1983: 3). This attrition rate is attributed to the 'strictness' of the discipline effected (*ibid.*).

[128] This slight caveat is added because evidence from the questionnaire survey suggests that some Companies do not use squads during their meeting night. Of the 98 Companies to complete the sketching exercise mentioned above, two companies did not use squads during this formal period and, as already stated, two companies had no formal start to their evening.

[129] In order to attain badges (see CHAPTER FOUR), as part of the meeting night boys participate in 'classes'. This term should, however, be considered in its widest sense; not only encompassing class-room style learning but also lessons of a more hands-on and practical nature.

For this Officer, this distinction is considered, at least partly, the squad's *raison d'etre*. She continues; 'It also stops them feeling sort of fragmented into age groups which would be inclined to happen if you only worked with them in age groups' (I 004). Indeed, a second Officer expresses similar sentiments;

> That also pitches younger boys in with older boys for a certain part of the time and I think that's quite important [...]. I don't think [they] should all be kept all the time in their own age group. I think older boys have got to get the experience of dealing with boys of different age groups. And a squad format allows that to happen. If you put the 11-year-olds together and then all the 12-year-olds, well, they might feel more comfortable for a little while, but I think they loose the edge because every young guy's hoping or looking forward to being a year older (I 021).

It would be disingenuous, though, to suggest that all of the Officers place equal importance on the role of squads when *set against* age groups. For example, one Officer remarks;

> I think guys probably identify more with their age group in the BB. You definitely identify more with your peer group. I'm sure some of the wee guys would struggle if you said to them 'so what squad are you in?' They know they always stand in that space, but maybe wouldn't see it as terribly important in their life as to what squad [they're in] (I 012).

Alluded to previously, and again through this Officer's comments, what is vital about this period of formality is that it is during this time when the squad finds spatial expression. Indeed, it could be argued that its efficacy as a disciplinary system demands such spatial expression. The ranked group of boys are placed. Each boy has a defined position. They know where they stand. Squad Commanders occupy a position on the right and boys are sorted in a line, first according to rank, and then height, to their left[130]. Yet, bound up with this particular spatial arrangement are the specific disciplines of the squad. If late, a boy loses *his* place, in many cases having to 'fall-in' at the 'end' of the squad. Indeed, almost mirroring the Founder's practice established in the 1st Glasgow in 1883 where, according to the first Annual Report, 'No boy was allowed to fall-in if a single minute late' (Smith, 1884 quoted in Shaw, 1983: 3), in one Company;

> Any boy who comes with an item of uniform missing is not allowed onto the parade floor. Any boy who comes once the rank has been formed is not allowed in. He's late. They are placed by the Staff Sergeant, they're marched behind the Officers, and they're placed in the D squad. And this D means default as far as the boys are concerned (I 003).

Interestingly, the Captain of this Company goes on to detail the ways in which he would sanction subtle subversions of this process for particular boys in the Company;

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[130] There are three ranks of Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) in The Boys' Brigade: Lance-Corporal, Corporal, and Sergeant to which boys may be appointed when they reach the age of 14, 15, and 16 respectively. Boys are not normally promoted to the rank of Sergeant without having first served as a Lance-Corporal and Corporal (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F3). Although the fall-in procedure follows the rules of drill, in that boys are formed in height order, if a boy 'out-ranks' a boy who is taller than them rank supersedes height.

> We've had an occasion, a Sergeant came down, a Sergeant who'd never missed an attendance in the Company all his days. He had a brilliant uniform. First class boy. Couldn't find his cap one week. 'Do I have to go in the D squad?' I said, 'Yes, [John], it's not one rule for some and one for others'. And it's a pity because that was a one-off and if I'd had a spare cap I would have spared him the ignominy because he was embarrassed. But it just so happened that week there wasn't a spare cap and I didn't have one with me. But younger boys, if they've done it once and they do it again, if they asked me if I had a spare cap, I would just say no there isn't because I know that they're at it (I 003).

This anecdote notwithstanding, this particular discipline is designed to embarrass by making the 'out of place' body more visible, either standing at the end of the squad next to a boy, almost certainly younger in age and shorter in stature, or, after being led to a different part of the hall, separated from the group and made to stand alone. Once again, being in sight, this time of peers, is designed to prompt a disciplined response. Self-discipline, as a learning process, is brought to the fore. In order not to be made more visible and suffer the embarrassment of being 'out of place', they must ensure both punctuality and that their uniform is complete the following week.

Although this is perhaps the most spatially explicit of the disciplines that operate *through* the squad, its use facilitates other disciplines that are central to the development of self-discipline, and by extension the fulfilment of an Object conceived of in these terms. Three distinct – yet interconnected – purposes for squads emerge: i) to foster teamwork; ii) as a vehicle for competition; and, iii) to encourage older boys to take responsibility. Each will be considered in turn.

TEAMWORK

Following the Founder's marriage to Miss Amelia Pearson Sutherland[131] on 5th March 1884, and a move to their home at 4 Ann Street in the Hillhead area of Glasgow's West End, 'squad teas' became a standing feature of each of the Smiths' Saturday evenings during the winter months (Gibbon, 1953: 49-50; Birch, 1959: 29; McFarlan, 1983: 23). Each squad was invited, in turn, to one of these 'at homes' (Gibbon, 1953: 50). Gibbon continues;

> These squad teas were given in the drawing-room, and the silver and best napery were brought out as for a dinner-party. The cakes, always made by the hostess, included a large one with the squad number embossed in cherries[132]. After tea the boys were entertained [often by Mrs. Smith's renditions of Spanish folk-songs], and encouraged to entertain themselves (*ibid.*).

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[131] Amelie Pearson Sutherland was the eldest daughter of Rev. Andrew Sutherland, the Presbyterian Chaplain to the troops in Gibraltar. On his death, his widow and their two sons and two daughters returned to Glasgow (Gibbon, 1953: 24). Smith recounts his first meeting with 'Pearcie' in his diary around the date of his 18th birthday in 1872; 'I got to know Pearcie and the rest of the Sutherlands' (*ibid.*: 17).

[132] The presence of this squad number on top of these cakes takes on renewed importance when set against comments made regarding the name of the Company in the 1971 *Manual for the use of Officers*. It notes; 'Accustom the Boys to talk of their Company by name, as 'The 1st Glasgow', 'The 2nd London', 'The 3rd Cardiff', 'The 4th Belfast', etc. so as to make it a 'household word' to them. This is one of the foundations of *esprit-de-corps*' (The Boys' Brigade, 1971: 25). In a similar vein, then, the 'cherry number' may have been viewed as an important platform for the building of *esprit-de-corps* at these 'Squad Teas'.

Of these occasions Canon John B. Hill, one of Smith's original Lieutenants[133], noted; 'The Squad Tea was a delightful feature of those early days. They were such happy evenings, and the bond they made was wonderful' (quoted in Gibbon, 1953: 50-51). Since their inception in November 1883, squads have been used as a mechanism to encourage boys to 'bond', encouraging the development of *esprit-de-corps*;

> We definitely use squads for *esprit-de-corps*. We try and get people to identify with their squad just like a house system or a team. We're trying to build teamwork within a group of boys (I 020).

Thus, the *work* of these 'at homes' continues, although the cherry embossed cakes have given way to competition (I 018; I 023). By pitting squad against squad, Officers encourage this collection of individuals to unite as one body guided by a spirit of 'one for all, all for one' (I 009);

> The reason why you have squads is it encourages teamwork. It encourages a bit of friendly competition. It encourages boys to bind together. [...] [W]hen we're doing inspection, we have a squad competition where marks are given for uniform, for attendance both on a Friday and a Sunday and participation in competitions. You couldn't have any of that if you didn't have squads (I 008).

The connection between competition and the 'squad system' (Birch, 1959: 104) is enshrined in the current *Officers' Handbook*. It notes;

> To encourage a high standard of attendance, participation, and enthusiastic performance, an inter-Squad competition can be a good incentive. Monthly or Annual competitions can be run, based on various aspects including attendance at the main meeting nights and Sundays, and a Squad Challenge Medal may be used to show who is the Squad Commander of the 'top squad' for the month, etc.

(The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F2)

The important role that competition is perceived to play in the successful operation of a BB Company demands further scrutiny.

COMPETITION

When asked about the purpose of squads, Officers often reflected upon the competition that they facilitated on a Company Section meeting night. Many of the methods adopted to encourage this competition mirror those offered by way of guidance in the *Officers' Handbook* quoted above. For example, in one Company;

> [Squads are] there to give the boys some kind of sense of competition. That's one of the reasons we run a squad challenge, the medal presented monthly. The boys in that squad monthly get the

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[133] In 1886 John B. Hill left his business career to study for Holy Orders in the Church of England (Gibbon, 1953: 38).

canteen[134] to the value of a pound each one, that's one of the incentives. The commander gets the squad medal for that month, then, at the end of the year, there's a solid silver medal which the squad commander gets and he wears that all year. That's the Company medal for the best squad for the entire year (I 003).

Again, it would be wrong to suggest that all of the Officers considered competition an important role of the squad, and some highlight the difficulty faced in bringing out a boy's competitive streak. One Officer noted; 'I don't think you get all the B squad's better than C squad' (I 012), whereas a second Officer, comparing competition as he remembers it in his youth to that in his own Company now, laments its relative demise;

> I certainly would say that I've kind of felt that there's not the same kind of enthusiasm or want or need to be in a squad. Again I think back to my own day and you wanted your squad to do well [in] Company competitions. [...] It seems to mean something to them but not as much as it used to. As long as their pals are in their squad, they seem to be quite happy (I 010).

Despite this, Officers do frequently remark that having a system encouraging boys to be competitive brings out their 'competitive edge' (I 016) and that this adds another dimension to the enjoyment they experience. Some, though, sound a note of caution;

> The boys enjoy it. They do enjoy the competition. You've [got to] be very careful. I can think of maybe one who gets over zealous about it and then starts ridiculing their boys, and that's got to be clamped down because not every boy has the same enthusiasm (I 018).

Thus, although Officers feel that experiencing competition has its merits, most notably in pulling together a group of boys into a 'loyal' team, they are also wary of allowing this competition getting 'too serious and rigid' (I 021) or 'over-zealous' (I 018). In order, then, for competition to *work* – i.e., to achieve what it is designed to achieve – it must remain 'friendly' (I 008) and Officers must be 'careful' (I 018) in their management of it. Competition in The BB Company is far from free; squads are not simply set up and left to run. Instead, each part of the competitive process – from the selection of the squads, to the type of competitions run, to the points system adopted to determine the winners – is controlled. In one Company the points system is designed to ensure competition is kept 'close' throughout the year;

> Every month what I do for the squad competition is we have one versus two, two versus three, one versus three, and we play all the different ways. They get two points for a win and one for a draw and nothing obviously if they lose. Then that all gets tallied up and at the end of the night. If there's one team sitting with 98 marks, another sitting on 82, and someone else sitting on 75, at the end of the night it'll just be one, two, three. The winning squad will get three marks. So next month it's not a running total. If one squad wins totally that month with really high marks, that is really, from day

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[134] Also referred to as 'tuck shop', 'canteen' usually consists of a selection of confectionary, carbonated drinks and crisps sold at some point during a Company Section meeting night.

one, it's almost impossible to catch them up. All they're getting is three marks for the win so at the end of this year I think we had something like squad one who won it had I think 12, squad two had 11 and squad three had nine. So it's quite close. We never let it run away in that sense. It's easy enough to catch up if you're down struggling, and we feel that way sort of keeps the [competition] running so that at the end of the year you're talking about quite close results (I 018).

In a similar way, a second Officer 'handicaps' the system, and, when this fails, resorts to a more subtle substitution of activities to suit particular squads;

> We doctor, as all adults will, you doctor the competitions so that a squad is not winning everything every week. If you have to handicap the system, i.e., you're getting five points for a start or so on, then you do that. As the weeks go on you begin to realise they're too strong a squad, it's too late to change it, now we'll have to do something that suits them [a weaker squad] better. One squad might have the three best football players in the Company in it, just by their age gap. Another squad might have the best, three brainiest guys, so you do more quizzes. You see how it's flowing and you realise that, well, it's a bit unfair (I 022).

Both these 'checks' on the competition – either handicapping points or substituting activities – are performed once the competition is 'off and running'. Officers do, however, try to ensure a fair competition for as long as possible by balancing the squads at the outset. As one Officer notes; 'The other thing you've done at the beginning of the year is you've matched them fairly equally as best you can' (I 020). And it is here where the oft-mentioned knowledge of the boys is deployed once again. Of this 'cherry picking' process, another Officer notes;

> But the squads are cherry picked to balance out, at the start of the year, obviously your senior boys become your NCOs and then you work your way down thinking, well he would go well in his squad, he'd go well in his picking out the physically fit from the weak and so on and balancing it (I 022).

The lengths to which Officers go to ensure competition serves its purpose highlights the importance which is placed upon competition not only as an vital component of team-building – 'because it encourages *the* squad and *my* squad and *the* team and *my* team' (I 009; original emphasis) – but also in personal terms as 'another layer of achievement';

> But why we split it into squads is because it gives the boys another layer of achievement. If they become the best squad or become the best sports squad for the year, then it's another medal on display night[135]. From a pragmatic point of view, [...] what do they really get out it? Aye they get a wee cheap medal on display night, but it's the hours of hard effort and hard work that they've put in to achieve that wee cheap medal. They don't see it as cheap. It's a reward to them. It's an award for the

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[135] The annual 'display night', which usually takes place at the end of the session, is an opportunity to demonstrate to boys' friends and families some of the activities which they engage in as part of the Company. It often incorporates a prize-giving ceremony at which boys are presented with the badges earned or trophies won over the session. It may also include an inspection by a guest of honour (see also CHAPTER SEVEN).

work that they've done. Whether it cost the company two pounds or 20 pounds is irrelevant to them. But it's seen as, well we're the best squad and again it's self-respect (I 022).

Yet, as this Officer notes, the purpose of competition extends further, bound not only to teamwork and achievement but also to the process of building self-respect. There are, however, figures which have existed only as shadows in the discussion thus far; the Squad Commanders. With regard to competition, their role is a vital one. As one Officer notes;

> We have a squad competition and they like to fight it out. It also makes the boy in charge make sure that all the boys are there so they get maximum points because he wants the squad cup. We usually find that with the older ones they're quite competitive, and they get annoyed if they [the other squad members] don't turn up (I 007).

And so, perhaps, the regulation of competition – ensuring it does not become 'over-zealous' is itself an even more subtle self-discipline drawing within its compass those individuals 'in charge' of squads who are crucial to its successful operation. Discussion now seeks to draw them into the analytical spotlight.

RESPONSIBILITY

Prior to the formation of squads in December 1883, the six Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs) who would command these squads were appointed. The first Annual Report records that their selection was by way of 'an Examination for Promotion to Non-Commissioned rank' (quoted in Shaw, 1983: 3);

> First, a Practical Examination in Drill, open to all boys over 14, then a Written Examination open to the best 12 boys in the Practical. The highest 6 boys in the Written Examination were then promoted in order of merit, so many marks being allowed for conduct and general suitability (quoted in Shaw, 1983: 3).

In this way two Sergeants (William H. Wylie and George Mill), two Corporals (John R. Jarvie and John Tennant) and two Lance-Corporals (Robert Paterson and Alex Dowie) were appointed (see Plate 9). However, Gibbon (1953: 44), expanding upon the report's final line, writes; 'Marks were added by the Officers according to their estimate of the candidate's conduct, character and general suitability to wield authority and bear responsibility'. Although examinations as formal as those first adopted are seldom a feature of the modern selection process, Officers continue to be pivotal in determining 'suitability'. The current *Officers' Handbook*, in a section offering guidance on the appointment of NCOs, states;

> The system of NCOs in The Boys' Brigade is of great benefit in facilitating the organisation of the Company, and in developing the powers of leadership and the characters of the boys selected as NCOs. Officers are therefore strongly encouraged to make the fullest possible

use of the NCOs. The utmost care should be taken in selection of the right boys for promotion, and whilst past service will no doubt be taken into account, what is even more important is the potential for the future.

(The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F3)

These 'estimates' of conduct and predictions of 'future potential' continue to feed into the process of selecting 'the right boys for promotion'. In one Company, for example, the Captain 'has a look at [decisions about promotions] and put[s] down a draft' before he and his staff 'talk about' and, ultimately, 'decide who's going to be promoted – if anybody – and why or why not' (I 005). In another, boys are more actively involved in the selection process and face a testing interview;

I: When we promote a boy to an NCO it's not automatic in age, primarily it goes on the staff's opinion, on his behaviour on his attendance. What we also do is have an interview with the boy, the Captain, we try and get the minister involved at that stage. It's a panel of three: it's usually the Captain, the minister and another Officer. The boy'll come in and I stole it off another Company and to quote the Captain of that Company at the time 'it was to scare the shit out them' which is how he put it. But it was to make them realise that being an NCO wasn't automatic and that it meant something.

I: **In that interview what sort of questions would you be asking them?**

I: Well one of the questions is 'whose the youngest guy in your squad?'

I: **So it's the knowledge of their squad?**

I: It's knowledge, it's why they think they should be an NCO, what an NCO means, and what they think an NCO should do and things like that. If they think that their attitude and their, it sort of throws it back at them; 'do you think that your behaviour is good enough that you should be an example to other boys?' (I 002).

That the importance of example emerges here as a crucial role of an NCO is not unsurprising. Indeed, these sentiments are frequently echoed by Officers, for example;

I think as the older boys go on, then they've got to be seen that they're looking up to the boys on that side but the boys are also looking up to them as an example to follow. So you've got the role of the NCO (I 011).

Although originally penned in 1954, Roger Peacock's assessment of this 'system of NCOs' – highlighting the twin roles of setting an example and shouldering responsibility – perhaps mirrors most accurately the feelings of Officers interviewed fifty years on;

Another important part of the BB method – borrowed as much from the public school monitorial system as from the army – is that represented by that stouthearted fellow, the BB NCO. To place the younger Boy in the charge of the elder, who has been proved and tempered in the crucible of BB discipline, is wholly to the benefit of both. It appeals to the younger Boy's sense of hero-worship and

emulation, and it awakens a sense of responsibility in the elder, and starts his training in the art of leadership (Peacock, 1954: 41).

But what are the responsibilities which NCOs are expected to shoulder? 'Help[ing] with tuck shop', 'attend[ing] a wee bit more' and 'taking a bible class' (I 002) are typical NCO duties. Overwhelmingly, however, the role of the squad commander is intimately linked to competition, particularly competition fostered as a result of uniform inspection. At the start of a meeting night, 'it's the squad commanders' responsibility to make sure that in fact these boys are prepared for the opening parade' (I 019). NCOs 'are given two minutes before it to go through the boys and dress them and get them ready and make sure their badges are the right way on and so on and so forth' (I 022) to 'make sure that in fact the squad's up to the standard that he wants it to be' (I 019). Similarly, after inspection, 'it's up to the squad commander to take it on from there' (I 019). This exercise is designed to be the 'first rung on the board of leadership in the Company' (I 019) not only for Squad Commanders themselves but through the appointment of 'a junior NCO who's second in command' (I 019); 'in the absence of the Sergeant [...] they are able to take on that responsibility, albeit for a temporary period' (I 005). Indeed, before the recent (1999) change in uniform, an NCO's responsibilities extended beyond simply checking that they are wearing their uniform properly, but also instructing them on the correct way to clean their uniform;

> There is no uniform to clean. There is no uniform to alter. They can't take a twelve year old boy, recruit, aside and say, 'listen, do you know how to clean your brasses? This is how you do it'. That side of being a 15- and 16-year-old NCO has gone for them so it has to be brought in in other ways (I 022).

The uniform, tied to competition allows NCOs to exercise some responsibility and 'put leadership into action' (I 005). Clearly, the wearing of uniform is not simply a device to foster a sense of 'togetherness' by 'mak[ing] them look as one unit' (I 010) – uniform*ity* creating group commonality – but is integral to the self-discipline induced through its inspection. As one Officer remarked;

> So certainly we still have the formal falling in and the formal falling out, and we'll stress to the boys that the uniform's back on before you fall out. If they all turn out and they're like ragamuffins then they go back out again and have a rerun. [They] don't get out the hall until their uniforms are all back on again. So that's all part of the old discipline (I 009).

But, this is not the sole importance of uniform in relation to NCOs during this period of formality. Chevrons are used to visibly identify the rank of NCOs when in uniform. Worn on an armband on the right arm, one, two, or three chevrons denote the ranks of Lance-Corporal, Corporal, and Sergeant respectively. Despite several changes in uniform over the intervening years (see Plate 9, 10, and 11), these visual markers of rank remain. Some Officers view these chevrons as an

essential element of the uniform, particularly during this period of formality, because they make visible those who have responsibility. As one Officer remarks;

> I think if you appoint an NCO, a Sergeant, a Corporal, and a Lance-Corporal it's probably the only part of the night where they're actually wearing their uniform, their badges, and their rank at that particular point apart from, say, doing drill. And that's the one time where they actually get seen to be having responsibility, or perceived to be seen. But they do have other responsibilities which are maybe not as upfront (I 011).

Similarly, another leader notes; 'There will be certain cases where they will get responsibility, they'll be asked to do certain things, but they may not be in uniform so it may not be as visible' (I 012). Wearing uniform is, then, intimately linked to 'self-respect' and 'self-worth' (I 005). Given the connections established between these terms in the previous chapter (see CHAPTER FIVE), uniform is a mechanism of self-discipline. Here one Officer makes a particularly insightful observation;

> I: It's amazing the difference it makes when they put that on, it seems to affect the individual boy. And I know myself by putting on a Glengarry, and a pair of collar badges and gloves I find a certain protection in that, it's strange, it's strange.
>
> **I: A protection from what do you think?**
>
> I: Just that, it makes you more aware that you are a BB Officer, irrespective of whether you're a Captain or not and you have to be very careful of standards and how you treat and how you address people and boys. It keeps you in constant reminder of that. [...] It keeps you in mind of just who you are and what you are (I 003).

Could the wearing of uniform – and particularly NCOs' chevrons – not then play back upon the idea of setting an example perceived by Officers to be important? Does it, like it does for this Captain, keep them in mind 'just who they are and what they are'?; that they are NCOs and that there are distinct responsibilities of this position. As a visual marker of identity putting on the uniform signifies embodying the movement, its aims, ethos, purpose, and, in short, its Object (see CHAPTER FIVE). Many of an NCO's responsibilities are those of leadership, similar to those of an Officer. The 'NCO system' – and the idea of progression at its core – is a practical training in Officership[136] through boys assuming 'adult roles'. Although one Officer does sound a cautionary note, stressing that NCOs 'are still boys at heart' and 'you can't treat them as just Officers' because as well as being 'there to learn' they're also 'there for some fun' (I 018), upon accepting promotion – and donning the markers of status that this brings – a duty of care, similar to that which falls on the shoulders of Officers, is also theirs to burden; 'They are like big brothers' (Q 00052). As one Officer commented; 'It's their responsibility to look after the boys. If any of the boys have a

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[136] This practical training stands apart from more formal leadership training which boys must complete in order to gain their Grade 3 Leadership Badge (see CHAPTER FOUR). In addition, if they choose to embark upon their Queen's Badge they must complete a Queen's Badge 'Leadership Course' and another residential 'Completion Course' that incorporates exercises designed to test and hone boys' leadership skills.

problem they go to them' (I 015). This aspect of an NCO's leadership is considered particularly important when the issue of bullying arises;

> The way it is done you've got the older boys as NCOs all the way down and they're looking after the younger boys. So there's the personal development of each boy all the way up because each year they're moving up one. And the recruits are coming in at the bottom and the boys next to them are looking after them, and they are boys in our Company and therefore you will look after them, you will look out for them. So you get round this bullying thing or anything like that because they're their wee guy and they're going to look after them and nobody's going to bully them (I 006).

NCOs are, then, perceived to be a crucial bridge between the Officers and the Boys, not only dealing with any issues which arise, such as bullying, but also revealing issues which would otherwise remain hidden;

> If you've only got half a dozen boys it's probably less so, but if you've got over 40 you really need to have that link between the boys and the staff because it's well nigh impossible to keep your eye on 40 of them. So [you need] an NCO who says, wee 'so and so' is not coming back because he's getting bullied by 'such and such'. Whereas they might not say to us they're being bullied, they might say to another boy they're being bullied (I 004).

> And the NCO can also be a buffer, because if there's a problem in the Company and you don't know about it if the boys aren't telling you, the NCO will probably be in a better position to tell you, because they'll know exactly what's going on (I 011).

Indeed, the following Officer's comments hint of the 'NCO system' having wider effects in other social spaces, most notably the 'High School'. Here, it smoothes the transition of younger boys, perhaps sheltering them from bullying, but also boosts older boys' kudos at school;

> Something that came back through Target Boys this year, when they went to the High School to visit the boys, the older boys who are already at the High School they actually said, 'oh, we were all right because they knew somebody that was there'. It was actually quite important to them that they had a big boy that they knew at the High School. I think the big ones, there was a certain amount of, 'look at us, the wee ones all know us', sort of thing was quite important to them as well. But from the point of view of the ones moving up, it was actually quite important to them to not feel as if they were just a wee one in amongst all this big mass at the High School. There was somebody there that knew them which again, if you have NCOs, is probably going to come out more because they'll get to know the NCOs (I 004).

Despite these wider ripples (that will receive patient attention in the thesis' final couplet), the presence of NCOs in a BB Company has been demonstrated to be central to the distinct – yet, far from disjointed – (self-)disciplines in operation, especially competition and uniform. Aside from their pastoral role NCOs are also drawn into the disciplinary matrix; they must, assuming adult roles, train boys, maintain order and, on occasion, dispense punishment. What is also crucial about

their unique role in the operation of a BB Company is that these individuals introduce discipline by maintaining distance. While they bridge the gap between Officers and boys, their presence also continually creates this gap: NCOs function as both a 'link' connecting and a 'buffer' separating. This role of distance continues to be crucial as discussion moves (back) from squads to the relationship between other Officers and these squads, especially when the role of the former is compared with that of the Captain. Indeed, discussion of this distance returns us to the importance of the period of formality with which this chapter is concerned: relational distance finds spatial expression, and is therefore reinforced through these configurations.

Plate 9 Officers and NCOs, 1st Glasgow Company The Boys' Brigade, 1885

Source: McFarlan, 1982: 39

Plate 10 Range of Uniforms worn pre-1999 Uniform Change

Source: McFarlan, 1982: 19 Back Row: Company Section; Front Row (L to R): Junior Section, Company Section, Anchor Boys.

Plate 11 An example of the 1999 Uniform worn by the 109th Belfast Company

Source: *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 2004: 57 Front row: Anchor Boys; Second row: Junior Section; Back rows: Company Section.

OTHER OFFICERS

Reflecting guidance offered through the *Officers' Handbook* when it states; 'It is recommended that an Officer, Warrant Officer or Staff-Sergeant should be made responsible for the overall welfare of each squad' (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F2), interviewees often noted that in their own Companies, Officers were often assigned to a specific squad. This manoeuvre served both pragmatic and pastoral ends;

> Each squad has a squad Officer, which is the person that takes most of the role of pastoral care for the boys. [They] would come with me on a home visit, for example (I 008).

> We also tried, it never quite worked exactly the way I'd like it to work, but it was also the idea that each Officer would sort of have pastoral responsibility for a squad as well. So, instead of having somebody having to, if we're organising something, phone 20-odd kids they can break it down into cells I suppose. And we'll often use the NCOs to tell their squad what's happening that week (I 012).

Of course, pastoral can be read here in a straight-forward sense of taking responsibility, or, resonating with earlier discussion of Foucault's conception of the *Christian* pastoral, this relationship as one of guidance becomes a subtle mechanism for the workings of power and ultimately the shaping of selves; bodies, minds and, crucially, souls. Yet, pivotal here is that this pastoral power is expressed spatially during the period of formality at the start of the evening. Officers stand at the side of *their* squad, the spatial closeness mirroring the nature of their working relationship (I 018; I 023);

> That kind of formation, side by side with the Officers at the end of the squad and me out at the front there. The reason? The reason we've always had an Officer at the end of the squad, again just to identify the Officer with that particular squad over the year and he works closely with that squad over the year, he or she I should say. Again it's just to get the boys and the staff closer together. But that's the reason that we [have] them at the side rather than having all the staff standing at the back of the hall. I feel it's a wee bit more intimate when they're relating to their own member of staff (I 023).

Yet, in this – and indeed other – configurations (see Figure 4), ensuring these Officers are close to their boys also serves to distance the figure which has thus far scarcely received any attention: the Company Captain. This distance, while not wholly liked by those who serve in this position (see below), is generally considered vital to the Captain's role.

CAPTAIN

Within a BB Company, the role of the Captain is multi-faceted. When currently serving Captains were asked to consider their role, various descriptions were used: 'co-ordinator', 'administrator', 'facilitator', 'development officer', 'organiser', 'overseer' (I 005; I 019; I 013; I 008; I 002). One Officer's response does perhaps best encompass the range of responses offered;

> The role of Captain? If I was asked that question by someone 'well, what do you need a Captain for?' And it was something that cropped up within the Kirk Session. I said 'well, why does an army need a general?' It's someone who can give leadership, to give encouragement, to co-ordinate and decide what activities we're going to be doing, and to treat the staff as a team, and to make use of their skills and not just to do it all yourself, it's to delegate the work but it's really the person that is there to pull it all together. The thing would work without a Captain but I think it probably works better if there is one person that is pulling it all together (I 005).

But, assuming the role of Captain also brings with it a distance from the boys. And this is often lamented: there remains a desire on the part of those who are Captains to be 'closer to the boys' (I 024);

> Sometimes I feel that I lose out a wee bit with the boys. I still have a good relationship with the boys but sometimes I feel that I'm wee bit distant from them (I 023).

While closeness between other Officers and the boys is actively encouraged there does, though, remain a distance in terms of the form of address. Officers are often addressed as Mr. or Mrs. In some Companies, however, the form of address adopted is activity-dependent; 'People call me [John] when I'm in my PT [Physical Training] kit, but when I'm in uniform it's Mr. [Doe] or Sir, and the same with the rest of the Officers. And I think the boys know the boundaries too' (I 013). A second Officer remarked;

> They're very formal, they've been used to calling them like Mr. [Doe], Mr. [Roe]. My view is that on parade if this is how the BB works we either do it properly or we don't do it at all. So if we're on parade and we're doing drill, you'll call me Mr. [Doe] but when we're doing games or you come to ask me a question, that part of the evening, why don't you just call me [John] that's my name. That's my Christian name actually! That's what Christians do to each other, they just call each other by that name. They have a big problem about stepping over that, because [...] they're a bit concerned about the unconventional (I 020).

Regardless of activity, the Captain is often uniquely addressed;

> There already is a distance for the Captain. Some of the younger staff might get called by their first name unless I glare at them but that's up to that individual member of staff. Most of the other members of staff would be Mr. or Mrs. and usually with me it's Sir (I 008).

There is recognition that this distance is required so that the Captain – that figure with whom 'the buck stops' (I 019; I 008) – can assume authority;

> They look at me differently from the rest of the staff. They definitely do, I know that myself. I don't mean [to be] big-headed, that's not the reason any of us are here, but you still need that wee bit of distance between them. The staff who do most of the work on a Friday night, as they remind me constantly [laughs], they are closer to the boys, definitely because they're working hands-on all the

time. I'm coming in and out administrating more if you like. I've still got a good relationship with the boys but there's that wee bit of distance. That authoritative figure is there and I gain the respect from the boys and they get the respect back, and I think that's the way it's got to work (I 023).

The Captain as a figure of authority is re-asserted each week during the performance of the opening period of formality. Yet, this performance is pivotal in ensuring that authority throughout the evening. The marriage of a spatial distance during this period of formality – standing apart from rather than alongside the Company – with a relational distance that continues through the Captain's form of address ensures that this authority exists both within and without spatial configurations. By assuming a position of authority during this performance, the Captain is able to maintain order simply through his presence at other times (I 008; I 023);

I: If there's a kid in a class or we used to have a combination with two that would just play up, I tend to have more skill in dealing with that. I would actually go and maybe take that class, or somebody else would take it and I would hover about in the background, supporting, which I do occasionally as well.

I: **And do you think your presence has an effect on the boys' actual behaviour?**

I: Oh yes, oh aye very much, very very much so. I'm comfortable with that though. Because, while I would expect any Officer to get the respect I get, realistically it isn't going to happen. Because at the end of the day there has to be somebody, it's like the head teacher of a school, there has to be somebody who is the final judge, court of appeal, executioner, with whom the buck stops. In this case it's the Company Captain (I 008).

Thus, discussion has returned to the central role of the maintenance of order – i.e., a state of discipline. But, *en route* it has been demonstrated that these configurations are not solely a discipline in and of themselves, but geometries which, in establishing and reinforcing a series of spatial relationships (between boys and their NCO, squads and their squad officers, boys and their 'selves') cannot but serve as a disciplinary mechanism that functions beyond its performance for a short period of time at the beginning of a meeting night. By establishing spatial separations and boundaries at the start of the meeting night, boys know *exactly* where they 'stand' throughout.

SUMMARY

It has been contended that the period of formality at the outset of a Company Section meeting night is central to the creation of a disciplinary space. Not only do the configurations of bodies that it establishes aid the maintenance of discipline as a state of orderliness, but in realising a series of relationships *spatially*, this period serves as a moment through which a variety of interlocking and interdependent disciplinary processes operate. Most notable among these is that of the Squad which, driven by competition, encourages teamwork and individuals, complicit in their own disciplining, to exercise responsibility for, and serve as examples to, younger boys. Moreover, by establishing closeness through the deployment of Squad Officers which play a pastoral role, the

Captain is established as a distant disciplinary figure, who ultimately through presence alone – i.e., without the configurations which establish him/her as such – personifies authority and elicits a particular desired behaviour set outwith the initial performance of a particular spatial configuration.

It is also clear, however, that discerning exactly how these disciplines operate (particularly in the case of those working through the 'squad system') has been a complex task. And to a certain extent the understanding presented here is false, since it does attempt this task of disentangling what is really a whole to reveal distinct disciplinary processes. It would perhaps be best, therefore, to consider the disciplinary space which is brought into existence through these spatial configurations not as a product of interlocking, interdependent and interwoven parts, but as a gestalt: that which is perceived only as a whole, greater and not reducible to, a sum of component elements.

WAYPOINT

>> VIGNETTE THREE completes the three studies of the geographic accomplishment of The BB outwith the hall on a meeting night by turning the focus to camping. It is suggested that this accomplishment is conducted at least in part through the replication of the disciplinary space sketched here: disciplines outlined are both adopted and adapted to create a unique disciplinary and developmental space.

>> CHAPTER SEVEN attempts to disrupt the 'neat' understanding of an efficacious disciplinary space discussed here by turning to consider in detail one BB Company. The understanding of disciplinary space as a gestalt demands that the whole of one Company be considered, an approach which lends itself to detailed ethnographic study.

MICROCOSM, METAMORPHOSIS: COUNTRYSIDE COCOON, COUNTRYSIDE CHRYSALIS

Blow the good old bugle, Boys, and give a hearty cheer;

Step it out! The baggage cart is bringing up the rear.

We're off to spend the happiest week there is in all the year,

While we are camping at _____. *

Hurrah! Hurrah! We're off to camp again.

Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll cheer with might and main,

Send a wire to cookie that we're coming down by train,

Hungry and thirsty to _____.

When you're down at camp you'll find there's always lots to do,

Cricket, rowing, football, and a heavy meal or two;

Not a moment wasted from reveille to tattoo,

While we are camping at _____.

Early in the morning we'll be swimming in the sea,

Ducking in our 'tuppenny' as happy as can be,

Diving to the bottom to dig up a crab for tea,

While we are camping at _____.

When the week is over, and the time has come to clear,

Don't be too down-hearted, we shall come again next year.

Blow the good old bugle, Boys, and give a hearty cheer,

We'll come back again to _____.

* Insert name of Company or Battalion Camp.

'Camping at _____*' (*The Boys' Brigade Song Book*, no date: 15)

Tighnabruaich; the first name inserted in the history of Camping in The BB. For two weeks each year, industrial Glasgow ground to a halt as 'fair fortnight' began. As dawn broke on Fair Friday 16th July 1886 – the first day of this holiday – the 1st Glasgow Company of The BB

assembled at North Woodside Mission Hall for a 5am roll call (McFarlan, 1983: 32). After a brief inspection, at 5:30am (Gibbs, 1986: 3) the march to camp through the streets of Glasgow was underway. Friends and family cheered, the band played. To the tune of 'The girl I left behind me' (*ibid.*) the parade wound its way along West End streets, south towards the Clyde, and to its end. Halting at the Broomielaw the boys boarded the steamer *Columba* (*ibid.*: 33; see Plate 12) bound for 'the unpronounceable spot on the Kyles of Bute' (Peacock, 1954: 88).

Plate 12 R.M.S. Columba
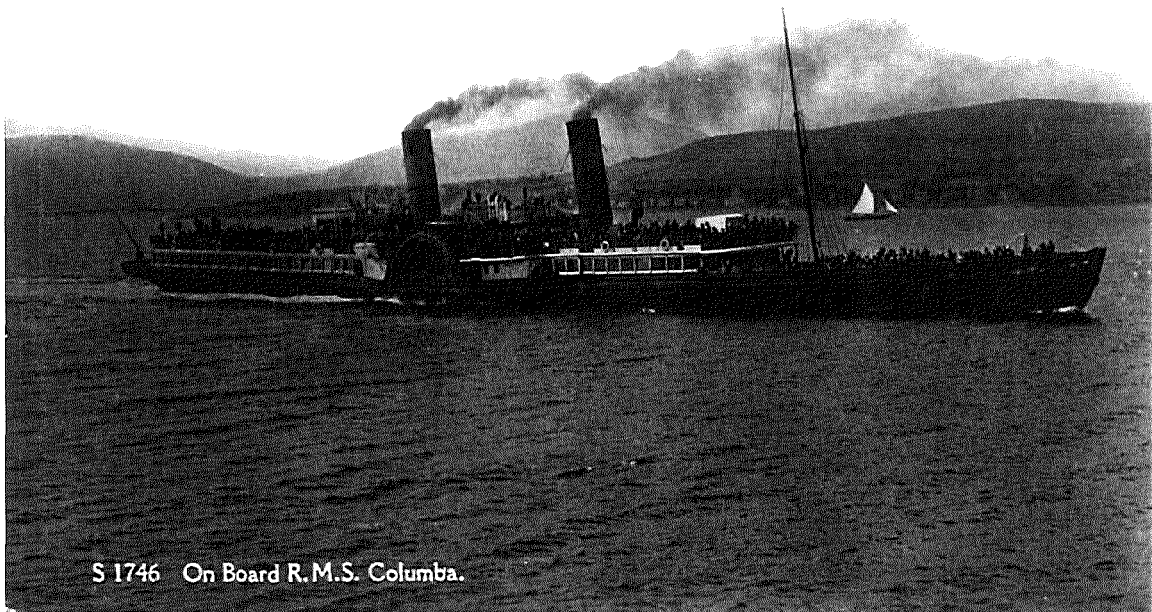
S 1746 On Board R.M.S. Columba.

Source: Private postcard collection of Mr. Tom Lee, with permission and thanks.

Although it is now more likely that the march to camp has given way to the minibus, 120 years after that first summer camp, camping remains an important activity for BB Companies throughout Scotland. A list of 'approved campsites' continues to be provided for Officers in the 'small ads' section in each issue of the *Gazette* and reports of Company camps provide a frequent addition to its pages.

Taking volume 112 (2004) of the *Gazette* as exemplar, in its four issues reports of 'camp activity' range from a 'Company Spotlight' of the 5th Kingston & Merton's camp in Wittering, Sussex (The Boys' Brigade, 2004a: 30-31), through the 1st Hillingdon and 11th Northampton's camps in Swanage (*ibid.*: 86) and the Isle of Wight (*ibid.*: 89) respectively, to Company camps in destinations further afield. For example, the 10th Enfield held a weekend camp in Holland (*ibid.*: 71), the 1st Bearsden attended the national camp of The Boys' Brigade's sister organisation in Finland (Poilkien Ja Tyttojen Keskus [PTK]) (*ibid.*: 71), the 7th Northampton visited The Boys' Brigade in Jamaica (*ibid.*: 12-13) and the 2nd Witham embarked on a four-week tour of North

America including time spent in Toronto, Canada and 'at camp' with The Boys' and Girls' Brigade in Neenah-Menasha, Wisconsin, USA (*ibid.*: 8).

Taking us further from the Company, its church, and its community and, crucially, into 'wilder' outdoor spaces, this final vignette both continues and concludes the series of studies of the geographical accomplishment of The BB outwith the 'hall on a weekday evening' by considering camping. Just as an understanding of The BB 'on parade' was built in VIGNETTE TWO through close examination of comments from current Officers, here an understanding of The BB 'at camp' will similarly be constructed. Before turning to this task, however, the foundations – in both practice and text – of camping in The BB must be laid.

CAMPING'S PAST

After disembarking the *Columba* and a short march to Auchenlochan, the 1st Glasgow arrived at camp (McFarlan, 1983: 33). They did not, though, arrive at a campsite; their accommodation was 'a fine public hall' (Gibbs, 1986: 3). Although Peacock, in his biography of the founder, attributes this to the fact that 'Smith was impelled to make a concession to public opinion' (1954: 84) and, particularly, parents who feared that their children would 'catch their death of cold [...] be gored by cows, bitten by sheep, stung by wasps and tossed by bulls' (Peacock, 1954: 84), it was in fact Smith's own fear for the boys' health which accounts for his accommodation choice (Gibbs, 1986: 3);

> In many of our Companies, Boys are not strong enough to run the risks of exposure to weather to which life under canvas would subject them (quoted in Gibbs, 1986: 3).

This protective attitude is perhaps surprising; one might have expected Smith to want the boys to explore and command wilder outdoor spaces to 'toughen them up'. But, such was the strength of his conviction that the 1st Glasgow would not camp under canvas until after the Founder's death in 1914 (Gibbs, 1986: 4). Two years would pass from the date of the first BB camp to the first held 'under canvas' in 1888 by the 1st Newhaven (Edinburgh) Company at their campsite at Elie in Fife (Gibbs, 1986: 3). Gibbs notes that of the six camps to take place the next year, 'two or three' were under canvas (1986: 3). Despite this trend, Smith continued to err on the side of caution. In one of the first articles to be written in the *Gazette* offering Officers 'advice and guidance' about camping 'between March and May 1890', it is 'undoubtedly' (Gibbs, 1986: 4) Smith who writes:

> Boys' Brigade Company Camps have already been held, both under canvas and in halls. There is no doubt that, if favourable weather could be counted upon, a real 'Tent Camp' is the ideal one. The 'Hall' or 'Barn' Camp has, however, many advantages, which make it, while not 'ideal', perhaps the best and safest for the majority of Boys in the Brigade (quoted in Gibbs, 1986: 4)

Although it would not change his choice of accommodation during his own Company's camp, two years later, the October 1892 edition of the *Gazette* (edited by Smith) notes:

While our readers will notice that most of the Camps recorded in the *Gazette* are located in a hall or other building, it is becoming very usual to pitch one or more tents, as an adjunct to the more solid structure, while in some cases the whole Camp has been quartered under canvas without any apparent harm having resulted to the Boys (quoted in Gibbs, 1986: 4).

This debate hints towards two, almost competing, visions of camping. Although a camp outdoors under canvas in favourable weather conditions is considered ideal the 'safer' option is that held indoors. Thus, from the first, though Smith offered guidance, the eventual unfolding of local camp practice was a product of the value Officers attached not only to camping but also the 'countryside', as having either a threatening or strengthening effect on boys' development. While accommodation is important to consider, so too were the activities in which the boys engaged in at Auchenlochan. A glimpse at an outline programme (see below) reveals that at this first camp boys spent a great deal of their time 'at sea'; 'from the first, the camp might be termed a sea-faring camp' (Peacock, 1954: 86).

6:30am	Reveille
6:45am	Morning Prayers
7:00am	Bathing Parade (Bathing Optional)
8:15am	First Breakfast Bugle
8:30am	Breakfast
9:30am	Inspection of Camp
9:45am	Full Dress Parade (Parade will take the shape of an expedition by the boats or otherwise, to some desirable place in the neighbourhood)
1:15pm	First Dinner Bugle
1:30pm	Dinner
	(The afternoon will generally be free for cricket, games, rambling over the hills or whatever the boys may desire.)
6:15pm	First Tea Bugle
6:30pm	Tea
7:00pm	Fishing Parade (Boats)
	(Fishing competition between the Camp Squads may be held.)
9:30pm	Evening Prayers
9:45pm	Tattoo
10:00pm	Light Out

(Springhall *et al*, 1983: 65-6)

The division of the camp into squads in order to foster competition (e.g., in fishing, see above) and a sense of collective responsibility was therefore an important feature of these first camps. Gibbon recalls, by way of an anecdote, the operation of these squads at camp:

Hugh Baird tells how some boys 'went off on their own', and shirked the Sunday afternoon service[137]. Tea was nearly over when they returned. The Captain motioned them away from the table and told them they could have no food before morning. Some chums surreptitiously flicked pieces of bread and butter across to them, but this was promptly stopped with a warning. One or two members of Baird's squad managed to conceal some hard biscuits for their pals. But this did not escape the

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[137] On a Sunday boys had to attend three church services (Shaw, 1983: 22; Gibbon, 1953: 67), two of which were held at local churches. In the morning the boys attended the Parish Church, in the evening the local Free Church (McFarlan, 1983: 33). Later, the afternoon service was removed from the programme (Gibbon, 1953: 67).

Captain's eye, and he put the whole squad on fatigue duty next day. He insisted on discipline, and he got it, and the camp was therefore a very happy one (1953: 67-8).

Peacock's assessment of the first Boys' Brigade camp as 'a holiday camp bearing the seal of discipline' (1954: 89) is perhaps apt. That it was a *holiday* camp is important though. As the popularity of camping increased (see Graph 2) the form of camp also diversified. As Peacock notes; 'at first a few — a very few — of the camps, lacking other guidance, tended to follow too closely *military* precedent, with daily drill, field manoeuvres and sentry-go' (1954: 89; added emphasis). Indeed, in one anecdote, Shaw recalls life at one of these camps:

> There may be truth in the tale of a visiting Company who camped on the outskirts of Glasgow and accepted from a local Company a challenge — that at least one Boy of the challengers would get inside the visitors' camp between 11pm and 2am. The visitors posted sentries and the Officers made the rounds. One sentry was found asleep. Next morning he was 'for Orderly room'. Paraded before his Captain the Boy was harangued about his dreadful offence and the danger to his comrades. The Boy was almost in tears. Then came the climax: 'Do you know what happens to soldiers found sleeping at their posts?' (pause for effect) 'They're shot' (pause for effect — and the punishment was rapped out) 'Fined tuppence' (1983: 23).

Without doubt, Smith's own military service provided at least part of the inspiration behind the adoption of camping in the movement (McFarlan, 1983: 29). The 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers first camped in August 1883 (Gibbs, 1986: 2). Though Smith was not present, having temporarily resigned due to business commitments, it is likely that he did join the regiment in July 1885 (Gibbs, 1986: 2). Despite the military roots of camping in The BB, through the publication of articles in the *Gazette*, some of which have already been cited, and particularly the publication of the *Boys' Brigade Camp Handbook* in 1899 (Gibbs, 1986: 5), 'such things [i.e., the running of a camp 'following too closely military precedent'] were discountenanced' (Peacock, 1954: 89). By offering guidance through the pages of guiding texts (see also Vignette Two), Smith was able to influence the *practice* of camping in The BB. As evidenced above, however, the reality of camping 'on the ground' was shaped too by individual Officers' perceptions of its value and purpose, often challenging Smith's 'official' suggestions. That camping practice was not strictly regulated in the past partly explains the proliferation of the forms adopted. Yet, each Officers' selected form — then as now — reflects their personal rationale for inclusion of camping in the operation of their Company. Thus, it is to the task of unpacking the rationale underpinning contemporary camping practice that discussion now turns.

Graph 2 Attendance at Camp, 1897-1969
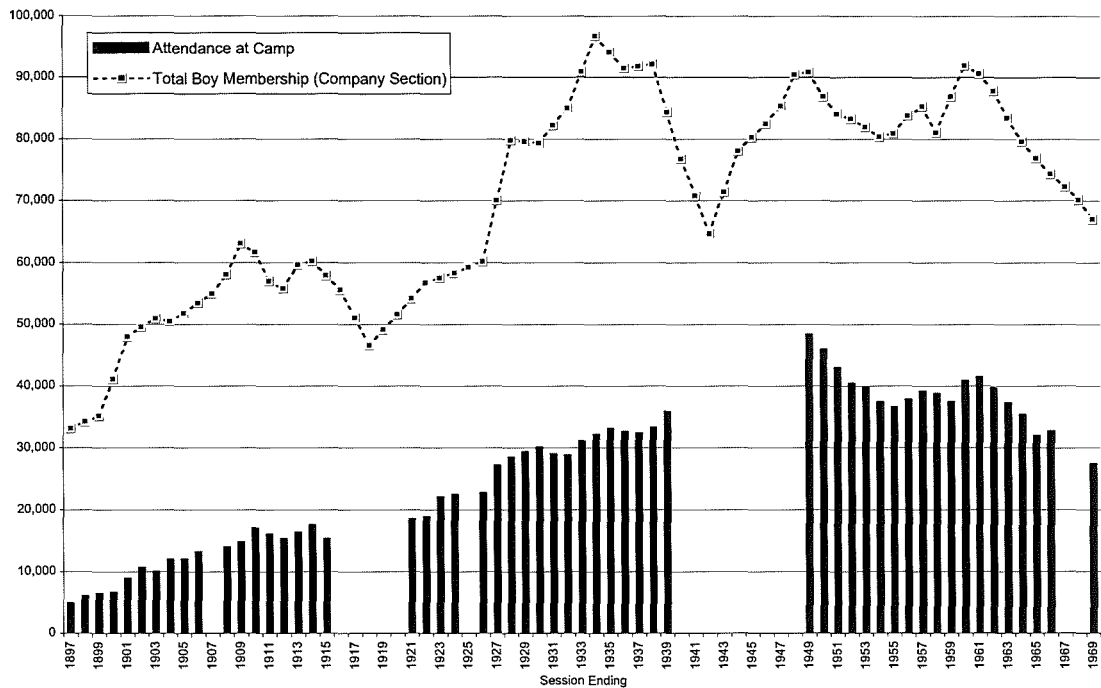
Source: Gibbs, 1986: 20; Springhall *et al*, 1983: 260.

CAMPING'S PRESENT

Interview data provides the material to build an understanding of current camping practice in The BB. Three specific questions concerning camping were asked during interviews. Interviewees were first asked whether or not their Company camped and, if so, the form and frequency of their camps. Secondly, a similar question was asked to that posed about parades regarding the *value* of the camping experience. Finally, if Officers had not considered the issue of the connection between the twin sites of Camp and Company in their responses, the opportunity for them to reflect upon their interaction was offered. Although responses from each question (and particularly the latter two) are interwoven throughout the next two sections, consideration of the final question will be held back until the final section, 'Camping's Geographies' and the second question to the penultimate section, 'Camping's Value'. First, however, the focus turns to camping's form.

CAMPING'S FORM

One volume of the *Gazette* has provided a glimpse into the current range and form of camping activity. Exploration of interviewees' experience provides further insight.

Immediately striking is that of the 23 Companies represented in the 24 interview 'encounters', all stated they camped. Form does, of course, vary: 13 of the 23 companies camp at outdoor centres; the remaining ten use campsites within the United Kingdom, though some Companies do camp further afield. For example, one Company has camped in Germany, another both Paris and Amsterdam, and a third was 'at camp' in Austria when the interview with its Captain took place. Noteworthy is the move away from the 'traditional' week-long camp under

canvas in an empty farmer's field to the long weekend camp at an outdoor centre. Thus, not only is there a change in the form of camp, there is also a reduction in the length of time companies are spending 'at camp'. Given some of the claims which will be made below, this is a significant finding[138].

A sense also surfaces that, if certain limitations to the week-long camp were overcome, this would be the most desirable experience for boys. In conversation these limitations were pinpointed. For some, the difficulty lies in attempting to arrange a camp around boys' family holidays (I 003), of which they now have several in a year whereas in the past the BB camp was the 'only holiday boys ever had' (I 011). As one interviewee succinctly remarks; 'if their mum and dad's going to Mallorca, where would you rather go? Whitley Bay for a week or [Mallorca]?' (I 023). For others, because 'there's too many other attractions for them' (I 023), they 'can't get the bloody weans interested' (I 008). The primary limitation to a week-long camp is, however, the availability of Officers (I 014): 'I can't get my staff to do more than a weekend's holiday' (I 022). In some cases, though, this problem is overcome by running a joint camp with other Companies (e.g., I 011; I 019).

This snapshot of camping's current form in Scotland is a helpful preface to the discussion of the *value* of camping. Despite the *variety* of form evidenced, *commonality* in the value of 'going to camp' emerges.

CAMPING'S VALUE

Discussion of camping's value will move through four (admittedly interrelated) key issues that surfaced in interviews: firstly, that camp acts as an *attraction* for boys both within and outwith The BB Company; secondly, that camp is an opportunity to gain knowledge of others and 'the self'; thirdly, that camp allows boys to bond and work together in teams; and fourthly, that camp provides an opportunity for life-lessons to be taught. Building upon this discussion of camping's value, and as an important step towards consideration of camping's geographies, a sketch of the camp as a disciplinary space will be attempted.

THE 'DANGLING CARROT': BOY RETENTION, BOY RECRUITMENT

That camp 'add[s] attraction and adventure to the [Company Section] programme' is enshrined in text through the pages of the *Officers' Handbook* (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F5-6). In *practice*, current Officers view camp as a 'carrot' (I 007; I 013; I 018) to be 'dangled' in front of boys throughout the session; 'Well [...] they say that they come because they want to go to camp at the end of the year and that's the carrot [...] They'll put up with all the [laughs] Christian bits and all the bits that they're not that fond of to get their camp' (I 007). That this 'carrot' is dangled *ahead*

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[138] A note should also be made regarding the 'political economy' of camping. Most Companies asked boys to contribute something towards camp, either monetarily or, through their time, fundraising activity (e.g., supermarket bag packing). This is, of course, crucial to the function of camps as disciplinary devices as boys are both investing materially and emotionally in the camp's success. It could also be said that it subtly binds boys into the Company for the duration of the session in expectation of the future event the have 'bought into'.

of the boys is significant. Officers provide something for boys to 'look forward to' (I 012) with 'real excitement and enthusiasm':

> When we said well we're going to go, you'll need to fill in this application form, 'gimme it, gimme it, gimme it', because they want to go. Certainly [...] for our [...] Company Section boys there's *real excitement and enthusiasm* about it (I 010; added emphasis)

But in doing so camp also serves as a subtle 'discipline' ensuring compliance throughout the session; it becomes not only 'something to aim for' (I 013) but a 'reward' (I 002) for hard work. Momentarily leaving aside the connection between the camp and Company, and the interweaving of the 'disciplines' enacted in these two sites, it is noteworthy that Officers also consider camp an important element of their boy retention strategy. As one Officer comments:

> When we had them away last year [...] it was really as a carrot to get them to stay in Company Section. Because if we go away in September rather than the normal camp at the end of the year this is a camp at the beginning of the year. [...] But we also wanted to make sure that we had Junior Section boys who were coming into the Company came in and stayed (I 018).

It is normal practice in Scottish BB Companies that, as members move from Primary Six to Primary Seven in their formal schooling, they also make a jump from Junior Section to Company Section. As evidenced above, some view the camp to be an important aid to a smooth transition. Another Officer, subscribing to this viewpoint, also identifies camp's role in the retention of boys who are thinking about leaving the Company:

> I think for some of them the camp experience is an incentive if they were swithering about whether to come back to our BB. I think that could sway some of them. I haven't had any evidence that it works the other way, that the camp has completely put them off the BB. [...] But I haven't seen a direct correlation that because we go to camp that's going to increase or help the number of boys that we have in the Company. But I don't think it does it any harm (I 005).

Others disagree and *do* cite evidence that camp *does* serve as a 'recruiting sergeant'. Indeed, one Officer directly correlates an increase in camping activity by his Company with an increase in Company membership:

> [T]he Scouts have gone downhill due to lack of helpers, the Cadets and the ATC [Air Training Corps] are going downhill due to lack of helpers. This year we've started [...] doing [...] more camps and our numbers have risen. I think last year we were on something like 18 boys. This year we're onto something like 26, 27 – it's quite a dramatic increase [laughs] (I 015).

Although in less stark (statistical) terms, other Officers do connect camping with recruitment, not only for those who are already linked to The BB through their siblings, but also those with no previous contact with the Company:

> It helps to [...] introduce and retain the boys' interest. The boys and younger brothers are keen to go to camp, and folks say 'next year I'll be able to go' (I 021).

> Whether it's a weekend camp or [...] a day away or a summer camp, it's maybe something that we should think about more as a way of attracting boys in the Company. If there were more kind of extra-curricular activities that would maybe be more attractive than just being in a church hall on an evening (I 010).

A key element of Officers' retention and recruitment strategies is the attraction of camp. But camp is also viewed as something 'more attractive' than the weekly activity in a 'church hall on an evening'. Indeed, anticipating later findings, the outdoor space of BB camp is arguably more similar than it is different from the indoor spaces of the Company. And, interestingly, it is these 'outdoor' spaces that are the more appealing (through Officers' eyes) to the 'modern boy'. Yet, as will be argued, these are *extra*-ordinary spaces; i.e., the 'ordinary', familiar and frequently recreated spaces of the Company *extended* infrequently. Thus, something extra-ordinary with a bigger draw is used to pull boys into, and to hold boys in, The BB Company. Camp cannot, then, be viewed in isolation. It is an important part of the working of a BB Company as a whole; i.e., both indoors and out, as a *relational* entity, rather than spatially bounded. This connection is perhaps best explored by one Officer, whose initial indecision perhaps speaks louder than his words:

> I think part of the uniqueness, or not uniqueness, but a part of the thing we like about camp is that it is so different from their normal programmed Friday night, [...] that it's the opposite of it I think that attracts (I 022).

For this Officer, camp's attraction lies in the fact it is precisely *not* the 'hall on a weekday evening'. But it is different, not unique. This is a view echoed in the following Officer's remarks:

> The [Company] up the road they don't have a summer camp as such but they have a tremendous Company camaraderie and *esprit-de-corps* whatever you want to call it, so it's not absolutely necessary to have a camp, you can still achieve what you want within your Company. But I think it helps (I 005).

Despite this, there is an emerging sense that the feelings initially expressed by the Officer above *are* shared more widely; there is something which camp *is*, after all, unique in achieving. Thus, the gap opened by this Officer's personal deliberations is one filled with unanswered questions; *what* is achieved 'at camp'?, *how* is that achieved?, and, finally, is it *uniquely* achieved 'at camp'? In what follows consideration of these questions is an ever-present undercurrent.

KNOW THE BOYS, KNOW THE 'BOY'

On Boxing Day 1889 the fifth Annual Meeting of The BB was held in Glasgow (Gibbon, 1953: 92). As part of his presidential address on that occasion, Major James Carfrae Alston, commented

upon the growing popularity of camps (see also Graph 3 above). Gibbon adds his own assessment of the significance of the Major's words:

> It was now being recognised that camp is the officer's great opportunity. In no other way can a man get to know boys so intimately, or exert such influence over them (Gibbon, 1953: 93).

That a Company camp 'provides a real opportunity of getting to know the boys' is again enshrined in the *Officers' Handbook* (The Boys' Brigade, 2000: F5-6), yet is also frequently commented upon by current Officers. In particular, it is the amount of time which can be spent with boys which facilitates this learning process. It *can* be achieved 'in the hall' but *more* time 'at camp' facilitates *more* relational 'work' forging and strengthening friendships built by learning about, and to care for, another. Camps are 'a great way of building relationships with the boys when you're away for 48 hours; a good chance to get to know them a lot better' (I 001) especially because 'if you are living with a boy, if you've got boys 24 hours a day, there's no escaping on either side; you can't escape from him, and he can't escape from you (I 019). The importance of the time at camp is, however, set against that spent in the 'hall on a weekday evening': 'it really brings you together a lot more than you would do a one night a week in here because you're with them 24 hours' (I 023). At camp, then, more cracks open in time allowing more opportunity to get to know the boys. The same Officer goes on to comment upon this process; the cracks, once open, are filled with 'chat';

> You can't do it here, albeit you're here maybe 25 weeks of the year once a week because you're so busy and the programme's so structured, you don't get time to sit and talk to the boys, you know, really find out about them. But when you're away for camp that's when you do. And it's amazing what these wee boys'll tell you when you're away for camp and you've got quality time to sit and blether to them (I 023).

A second Officer begins to shed some light on the value of this 'chat'. For him, *constructive* chat reveals problems for which solutions can be sought:

> From an Officer's point of view that's when you get to know the boys. [...] At camp you can ask how they're getting on and you come across the different problems, the social problems. At last year's camp we had a Primary Seven boy who was on his own and it was a wee bit hard for him. But you know, playing football and I just saw him running across the park to punch a guy after a tackle and I thought what's going on and I said to him, 'how long has this been going on?' he says, 'since Primary Five', 'why's it happened here at camp?' (I 002).

Another Officer reflects on a slightly different value of this time spent getting to know the boys. In doing so, background knowledge about the boy and, importantly, his family, is built up. This knowledge is later used not only to avoid 'putting your foot in it' (I 016) but also to engender in the boys a sense of loyalty to the Company; it is, albeit subtly, another aspect of a retention strategy:

What we find is that if I stand up on a Friday if I don't know the boys' names or I don't know them well enough [...] you can actually get caught out. By speaking to boys, a lot of the boys have [...] single parents, a lot of them don't come from high income backgrounds. Some of them have lost brothers and sisters, some of them live with their grannies. [...] If you don't know that if you send letters out that can be offensive to a boy's parents. [...] I [also] think there's a bit more loyalty from them and they stay a bit longer (I 011).

In Officers' eyes, camp is not so much about knowing the boys but a mechanism to get to know the boys as *individuals*. For some, knowing each boy *individually* ensures more effective management:

It's like any sort of management [or] leadership, if you know where the guys are at in one sense it's actually easier to manage them isn't it? I've found that we'll have some boys who are brighter than others and we can give them different things to do, different levels of responsibility; actually use them that way (I 012).

For others it provides an opportunity to 'get to know how a boy works'; his needs, problems and background can be understood to enable the Officer to 'work' (I 011) more effectively with them:

It would take a long time on a Friday night to get to know how a boy works. The ten days at camp, it is amazing what people learn (I 021).

Camp is also valued because there boys get to know other boys; friendships are both formed and fortified. But, the nature of these friendships are different from those forged in formal educational settings. The BB's 'squad system' has already been discussed at length (see CHAPTER SIX). What is important here, and echoed in the following Officer's comments, is that this 'system', replicated at camp, allows boys to mix across different age groups:

It's [...] a great opportunity to build relationships between the boys and the Officers, and the boys, and the younger boys and the senior boys (I 005).

Taking seriously earlier claims about this 'NCO system', NCOs assuming adult roles become adult-endorsed examples to be aspired towards. Each individual at camp is situated within a web of influence constructed through *productive* lines of friendship: boys' development is shaped through a series of imitations of exemplar behaviour. Adults too, though, cannot escape this web. Though clearly opened up through his notion of pastoral power, largely absent from Foucault's own accounts is the sense that these lines of friendship between 'the examples' – in this case the Officers themselves – also develops them. The space of camp is not only a developmental space for boys but also Officers. Far from being solely a space where adults structure young people's development, the spaces of youth work are developmental spaces for adults too, recalling their importance as crucial sites in *their* social geographies. Indeed, some Officers expressly note the

important role that camp plays in fostering both relationships between individual Officers and 'respect' for each other:

> [From] a[n] adult point of view [...] we do joint camps, Junior and Company. So the Junior Section probably get bedded maybe half ten, eleven o'clock at night and then it's just monitoring and by midnight they're out. So from midnight through to one, half one in the morning as a group of staff, we will sit and play cards, we will sit and blether, we'll have a laugh. It brings together a group of ten or 12 adults who only see each other in passing as a team. [...] All my staff go to camp without fail and we have a good lot of comradeship. They build bonds that we don't have the rest of the year. And I think it helps us out in the year to come; where if you get a phone call the night before something and say, 'listen I can't go can you do it?' (I 022).

What perhaps emerges as most significant, however, is the central bond between Officers and boys. It has already been noted that Officers feel it is important to get to know the individual boys. It is also crucial in their eyes that the boys get to know them:

> We've found that the boys all enjoy camp, any kind of camp, even if it's just a short weekend camp, three or four days, it's a greatly beneficial thing. They get to know the staff in a different way as well (I 003).

> I think it's they get to know you better. It's more bonding; they bond with their own tent. And even the Junior Section they're more relaxed with the Officers [...]. I mean I've been called Mum on many occasions; they run into the kitchen and they forget that they're not at home [laughs] even by some of the older ones! [laughs] We have a sort of relaxed, I think that's what you are at camp, a relaxed sort of atmosphere (I 007).

But just as above where, upon unpicking Officers comments, it was revealed that Officers felt it was vital that Officers knew the boys as individuals, that boys know the Officers as individuals is viewed as equally crucial. Not only does the value lie in 'seeing how they tick', but also in them 'seeing how you tick':

> What's the value? Well I think you get to know them better. I think that when you meet them in that situation you get to live [with] them, I think you bond with them. You see what makes them tick. Sometimes, they see, more importantly, what makes you tick and how you live. So if they see me being polite all the time, cleaning your teeth, washing your cup, saying please and thank you, or having grace or reading the Bible, or, you know, we do think charitably, and care for them all the time; there's a Christian witness on a daily basis. [...] It's important for those kids because if they notice that it might reinforce to them that in actual fact there's something more than just living your life. When you're sort of sitting round a campsite at night and you're maybe talking about something, an experience you've had [...] and you'll say 'no I actually do believe that God helped me there', they're always keen to want to know why I think that. Not always me. The great story teller in our Company is a guy called [James], and then in my previous company a guy called [John], who was a sort of grandfather figure, and they just, they hung on [his] words. That's a process of enquiry I think,

it's kind of a soft, feely enquiry. It's not a direct question about what difference does Christ make in your life? Well sometimes some of the stories are just a bit of a laugh, they're not always related to how you've lived your life or what's affected you or what makes you tick, but there's definitely that opportunity to. We're not doing something behind parents' backs here, we're not saying we're going to take them away and indoctrinate them or something. It's about, well for me and for my colleagues, it's a free and easy approach. We never say things like, if they said to us do you pray? or do you go to church every Sunday? we'd always say 'yeah absolutely'. If we were doing Bible class I could say without a shadow of a doubt this is what [John] and I believe, and we just know that we would think like that. Yeah, I do, I think going away is actually good from that point of view (I 020).

That this time spent chatting is crucial reverberates with Robinson's (2000) theorisation of the 'noisy panopticon' performed by Octavia Hill housing managers; time spent at camp building relationships is pivotal in later attempts to shape and develop individuals. Chat is the subtle vehicle through which Officers' lives are held up as examples and boys decide whether or not to imitate their behaviour, values, and conduct. Through these circuits Officers shape boys development and, to return to Gibbon's observations at the start of this section, exert their influence. And this is made explicit by one Officer who remarked;

> I: Well, you're taking boys out of their environment and they are with other boys [...] yes it makes
> all the difference, we can have a big influence over them when they're away from home and
> they're being with us.
>
> **I: Influence in what sense?**
>
> I: Well, I mean obviously the way we live (I 006).

For Officers, this is why it is vital the boys know them as individuals, and, importantly, not *just* the individual who takes on the role of 'Officer' in the 'hall on a weekday evening', but the 'naked' individual as he or she lives their lives:

> Yeah, I think you've got to show them what you're like really because being there and seeing the men
> strutting about shouting orders at them, they don't do that during the week. I think it's very important
> that the boys see what you're like (I 007).

Camp, then, is about getting behind and beyond the embodied performances of a BB Officer in the hall that bring the Company into being. But, equally vital is that when stripped of these performances it reveals a clearer expression of a Christian example; it bears 'witness' to how a *Christian* lives their life facilitating the process of 'feely enquiry' (I 020). One Officer's remarks neatly illustrate this idea of unmasking the 'Officer' to reveal the Christian individual:

> You can meet a kid for five years for three hours a week on a Friday night in a church and half an
> hour on a Sunday morning and not know them half as well as you will when you come back from a
> BB holiday. Again you're talking about that Christian example [Jane] was talking about earlier on;
> that's really where they see it in action. Where the Officers don't just take a prayer at the opening, at
> the beginning, and take a Bible class every now and again, actually to do that and see their daily lives

where they see people up clear, they see people what they're like, it's seeing people who are living together and are enjoying each other's company (I 008).

There is a hope that, in displaying a Christian example, it will be imitated by boys. Another Officer provides a particularly insightful 'snapshot' of influence in action:

> I think it's also important for them. The Officers giving a Christian example that they get to know you as well, some of that could possibly rub off by example too. Like the other night it was quite funny. We were at the athletics competition and our lot currently think they always get cheated at things like football and that. So I was doing the scoring, and they were, 'oh you could cheat?', and I was, 'wait a minute, no I wouldn't do that, you've got the wrong idea, I wouldn't really cheat for a BB trophy', 'yeah?, awh, so you wouldn't cheat', so I think that it's those sort of conversations (I 012).

Thus, we have almost returned full-circle. Knowledge of, and influence over, boys is conducted through conversation in the cracks that are creatively and purposively opened at camp. But, as this final quotation stresses, this is not unique to the camp environment. Instead, as stressed at the beginning of this section, the time spent at camp allows more cracks to be opened and more opportunities for these cracks to be filled with constructive chat.

Although discussion leading to this understanding of the relationships forged at camp does provide some insight into Officers' perception of camp's value, it fails *fully* to catch it in its web. Just as camp provides the opportunity for Officers to get to know boys, for boys to get to know each other, Officers to get to know each other, and boys to get to know the unmasked Officers, it is also viewed by Officers as an important means through which boys get to know *themselves*. In conversation, one interviewee perhaps sets this out best:

> I think it is about having the time just to be themselves. They're either at home with brothers and sisters or mum and dad, but they can go away and they can stay up all night with their mates the first night, which invariably happens. [...] There's not really any barriers on them there and I think it's about well, they can find out what their own barriers are. And then they fall asleep in their dinner on the Saturday night because they've walked 20 miles but they haven't had any sleep. [...] They learn a bit about themselves, [...] they can find out about themselves, and they can find out I can do this but, I can put limits on it myself (I 001).

Camp is a crucial mechanism through which boys learn about, and learn to bound, themselves. It is a mechanism of self-discipline. But, just as Officers consider camp to be crucial to learn *about* themselves and others as individuals, they also consider it vital that boys learn to work *with* others. The team is equally important.

A TEAM, FROM INDIVIDUALS

Officers frequently comment that the camp experience brings boys 'closer together' (I 010), particularly because 'they've got to get on with' and 'look after each other' in a 'different way

from' the way 'they do when they're in the church hall [or] when they're at home' (I 003). As a means to this end, other Officers stress the importance of communal living, especially because it encourages collective responsibility. Responsibility for the group of boys in their tent not only 'allows tensions to be sorted out' (I 005) between boys but, crucially, introduces the possibility that an individual can let down the team. Anecdotes, where Officers almost 'return' to camp through the fictitious conversation which takes place, provide an insightful reflection on the value of 'communal living' (I 018) at camp:

> That they've got to respect other people, they've got to respect that they're part of a team and if they don't do what they're supposed to do they're letting the whole team down. [...] They're in dormitories so again they've got to pull together to make sure their dormitory's tidy; 'well, that's not my mess', 'I don't care whose mess it is, it's your room, collectively it's your room, you all pull together to get it tidied'. I think they learn from that as well (I 018).

> Again it was just working as a team and that shows come the end of Saturday. [That] morning it was different. They were working as a team rather than saying 'awch, I'm not doing that'. It was the quicker we clear the tables and get this place tidied, the quicker we get out of here. Simple. They all worked and gelled together as a team (I 018).

Through a variety of tasks (e.g., taking responsibility for their tent) camp is designed to bind individuals together as a team. Yet this is not only designed for short-term gains whilst at camp, but can have a longer-term effect on return to the Company. As one Officer comments: 'when we're actually away you feel the Company gets stronger when you come back because we've spent a weekend all together' (I 013). Although others were asked to reflect on this connection, this Officer's unprompted remarks are, I feel, particularly insightful. They highlight that, although some of the value of camp will have tangible, quantifiable, results either at camp (e.g., the clearing of a table in less time) or on the return to the company (e.g., behaviour improvements), the value of camp is often something which is *felt*, intimately personal and difficult to grasp. Once prompted further, this becomes evident in the interviewee's reply:

> It's difficult to put your finger on it, but it certainly feels as if the boys respond better and they feel more focused when they come back, more motivated. When we go away in October you'll find between October and Christmas they're very fired up, enthusiastic (I 013).

It is perhaps too easy to discuss teamwork and to forget the individuals *from which* they are built and the relationships binding them together; too easy to turn personal feelings into understandings of processes. This is an important caveat to bear in mind, but what weaves through these responses is that learning to work as a team is a crucial *lesson*, not only for the 'here and now' but for life. One Officer puts this best when he comments:

> I think for the boys it means they have got to work together. They'll have their duties to do and I think, it's to instil in them that there's certain things you've got to do in life that you maybe don't

particularly want to do but if you just get them over and done with you can then move on to the better things. [...] It's about participating, taking the rough with the smooth, there'll be a few knocks, there'll be a few tears, but within that they'll be supported. So just building up that kind of team spirit, camaraderie (I 010).

Learning to work as a team is only one of many life-lessons which Officers feel camp provides boys the opportunity to learn.

LESSONS (FOR LIFE)

There are a number of skills relatively unique to camping that Officers consider valuable lessons to be learned at camp. Some, such as tent-craft, map-reading, compass work, orienteering and expedition, can lead to the award of an 'Adventure Badge' under the Company Section Award Scheme, 'Get the Credit'. Although this skill-set is viewed as 'transferable' (I 021), particularly if 'in later life' boys wish to adopt hill walking or camping as a leisure pursuit, intermixed with these *specific* skills are a series of more *generic* skills (including 'leadership skills' (I 005) and team-working skills discussed above) which are learned 'at camp':

> I think the camping and the expedition and the orienteering again you can teach them a set of skills that may be useful to them in later life. [...] We teach them how to read a map, teach them how to use a compass, teach them how to be able to decide what kit to take, [...] personal hygiene, how to look after themselves. Now they may never use it again but I still think it's worthwhile exposing them to it. [...] Even the silly things like being able to wash up the dishes and clean things. So, I think also it teaches them tent-craft, they may or may not in later life decide that camping type holidays are for them (I 005).

In short, camp provides the opportunity for boys to 'learn some more of the life skills as well' (I 020). The individual boy relying upon himself is central here. Where one Officer simply notes that camp 'teaches them a bit of self-reliance' (I 005), another expands:

> They've not got their parents [...], they have to rely on themselves. It's self-catering, nobody organises their food. [...] What I tend to do is I check to see what they've got [...], 'what have you got for your main meal?', 'oh right, ok', and then, unofficially you make sure they get the right stuff, if they bring pot noodles or stuff like that. They get a list from us this is the things we recommend and [...] there's a tuck shop to make sure they're supplementing it. But in the morning [I] make sure that everybody's got a hot breakfast and at night [...] if I see somebody, 'what? give me that, get into this'. [...] You tend to find that they bring their own gear and they do their own thing, but under Big Brother watching you (I 009).

What is crucial to highlight here is that 'self-reliance' whilst parent-free is not completely 'hands-off'; it is structured and controlled, designed and managed. It is thus a lesson. There are, however, a series of similarly 'structured', yet 'taken-for-granted', life-lessons which are encapsulated in the

very disciplines of the camp. In beginning to sketch the camp as a disciplinary space these lessons are revealed.

SKETCHING CAMP AS A DISCIPLINARY SPACE

> Camp still has to be very disciplined. We've got very tight rules. We take canoes and things like that, you've got to be absolutely disciplined. What happens if folk go up a mountain, 40 people, and they haven't been organised? You get absolutely crucified for it. So you still have all the discipline but it's in a fun way. Whereas the other arm of it, uniform, spit and polish, marching, well that's gone from our culture. They don't get it at school. They don't get it at home. But a tight disciplined holiday, well, yeah, they can relate to that (I 021).

Discipline features throughout Officers' responses, particularly as a pre-requisite to safety as above. But what this Officer hints at is a distinct difference between the discipline of camp and the discipline of a parade explored in Vignette Two. It mirrors the distinction discussed earlier between the 'military' and 'holiday' camp. Just as a parade is militaristic for other ends, so too is the camp; its roots lie in the military but its purpose is transformed to do other 'work'. Indeed, close reading of Officers' comments reveals that discipline at camp is almost viewed as a proxy for structure. This becomes an interesting finding when set against the aforementioned shift from 'discipline' as an element of the 'BB Method' set out in the *Manual* to the use of 'structure' in the *Handbook* (see also Vignette Two). Echoing comments above, one Officer succinctly commented:

> There is still a discipline about a camp, and I think it's just you've got a structured programme, and the boys just respond to that, yet it's away from their home environment (I 010).

Similarly a second Officer explores this substitution of *discipline* with structure:

> Our camp's traditional, quite strict, disciplined, full programme, fewer and short periods of free time, quite different from when I was a boy when you would be left to your own devices for big chunks of the day. In today's world that's just going to either bore the boys or boys are going to get up to mischief, shall we say, so I'm a great believer in having a busy programme (I 024).

Although free-time is valued, in that it opens interstices in which the previously discussed 'work' of 'getting to know each other' through constructive chat can take place, the understanding that is beginning to form is that Officers eliminate unstructured 'free time' and replace it with structured 'free time'. What is provided, then, is a 'limited freedom' (I 018). With respect to this *illusion* of freedom (see Chapter One), one Officer's laughter while recollecting his own experiences is revealing:

> If I think back on my own experience I looked forward to the summer camps as well, whether it's just you were going away with all your pals and you could do things together on holiday instead of going

with your parents. You would be able to choose in your free time what you could do, *at least you thought you could anyway* [laughs]. I think it's just, a start of a wee first step to a wee bit freedom away from the home (I 010; added emphasis).

Discussion will return to *illusory* freedom later. For the moment, however, I wish to move from this sketch of the camp as a disciplinary space to consider how this disciplinary space connects with that of the Company. Some Officers commented upon the way in which the two different sites of Company and camp mean boys can be disciplin*ed* in a different way. The subtleties of peer-pressure in the Company (see CHAPTER FOUR) give way to the chore as a reprimand for 'bad' behaviour:

> The way it comes back to a Friday night it's a total[ly] different way of life. If a boy steps out of line at camp you can give them a chore or something to do, you can be seen to be reprimanding them. But on a Friday night there's not a lot you can do really as far as disciplining them. You've got to rely on a wee bit of peer pressure and saying 'look you're spoiling it for them'. Whereas at camp you can say 'you're not doing that'. You become their parents, if you know what I mean, without sounding too disciplinarian (I 002).

Notwithstanding the fact that this recalls the operation of the 'family system' at Mettray (see CHAPTER ONE), other disciplines are extracted from the Company and replicated at camp. Inspections of uniform usually form an important part of the formal opening of a BB meeting (see CHAPTER SIX). At camp, uniform inspection is replaced by tent inspection:

> The disciplines, the tent inspection which things must be perfect, the disciplines of orderlies and the disciplines throughout the camp, but then mixed with that the free time, the programme, boys having some work to do as opposed to everything being done for them by their parents. I'll give them a tough time to get the work done as opposed to saying 'och, I just can't do it', or 'let me do it', or 'parents do it', they know they have got to do it so they buckle into it (I 024).

Another 'throw back to their parade night' is that boys are 'put into smaller groups who then compete against each other' (I 022). Officers 'put [boys] into tents in the same way [they] put them into squads where you've got the oldest boy looking after the youngest boy right down' (I 002). This replication of the 'squad system' does of course introduce subtle – but no less structured – disciplines through the encouragement of competition and responsibility. That camp is 'very good for senior boys [because] it gives them responsibility' (I 021), meaning that they 'are having to look out for the younger boys' (I 006), is frequently noted as an important *value* of camp, particularly because in 'giving [boys] a sense of responsibility [...] you're preparing them for coping on their own' (I 014). In other words, it is not only a discipline for the individual but a disciplinary mechanism through which to develop that same individual; they are enlisted in their own disciplining. Indeed, for one Officer 'devolution' of responsibility to a 'cabinet' of senior

boys is an important element of the camp experience, ensuring boys are not only 'involved in the operation' but that they *develop* as leaders:

I: The other thing we do at camp, it's maybe a bit unusual, we're quite keen on, we have what we call the cabinet in that all the Seniors would actually have a job. So one of them would be in charge of the canteen, one would be in charge of money, one would be in charge of trips and that, and it's more or less their job to actually do these things. So one of the NCOs he went to the cash and carry and did all the shopping to give them some responsibility and they actually feel, they think they're in charge of it even if they're maybe not. But, it involves them in the operation, it's also giving them a bit of leadership.

I: Do you think it's quite important to give the older boys that responsibility?

I: Yeah, I think so, it keeps them involved. I think it keeps them busy as well which is quite good, and I think it's quite a good way of developing leaders, leadership potential. I always remember years ago [John] saying to me, it's [a] very good thing, good examples, don't actually try and do something if the boys can do it themselves. If they're capable of organising it and doing it, devolve that responsibility. It works quite well (I 012).

Having pieced together a narrative through Officers' consideration of the *value* of camp, a summary can now be attempted. Firstly, camp serves as an attraction to boys within and outwith The BB Company, aiding both boy retention and boy recruitment respectively. Secondly, camp provides an opportunity for a web of power/knowledge to be woven. This web serves a number of purposes. Officers get to know the boys; in knowing about the boy, Officers can then understand the boy (and his needs) as an individual. Boys get to know each other, themselves and the staff; in knowing about the Officers, boys can see, learn from, and imitate their Christian example. Thirdly, camp binds individuals together as a team which has both tangible and 'felt' results while at camp and on return to the Company. Fourthly, camp provides the opportunity for boys to develop both specific (e.g., map work, orienteering) and generic (e.g., teamwork, leadership) skills which are considered necessary for later life. Finally, camp is a disciplinary space. Through the replication of certain disciplines enacted in the Company, it serves as an extension of The BB 'in the hall on a weekday evening'. Thus there exists a connection between the 'outdoor' space of the Camp and the 'indoor' space of the Company. What has thus far been neglected, however, are the specific geographies of this outdoor space, and more importantly how camp is conceived *geographically* by those who accomplish it.

CAMPING'S GEOGRAPHIES: COUNTRYSIDE COCOON, COUNTRYSIDE CHRYSALIS

A camp is a reconfiguration of an outdoor space. In erecting tents and marquees, marking out football pitches, and digging latrines after careful consideration of drainage patterns, a camp comes into being. It is created from practically nothing or very little. That camp 'takes place' outdoors is vital. This surfaces clearly when Officers reflect upon the value of the outdoor 'canvas camp' in 'a field' when set against the indoor 'camp' in an 'outdoor centre':

> In the main what we tend to do is we go to outdoor centres. I don't think that's as effective as a traditional camp because I think you have to rely on yourself very much more. I think the boys can see that. If there's staff from the outdoor centre there you're not yourself, you're not running things yourself. While there's nothing wrong with it, to me there is nothing like the traditional week long camp under canvas in a field where you arrive and there's nothing and you have to dig a latrine and things like that (I 008).

That camp is constructed from nothing – i.e., that it is produced by boys rather than, like an indoor space inhabited by boys – is not only viewed as crucial, but it also allows the camp to be *spatially* configured to ensure that the value and disciplines of the camp as discussed above are achieved. Camp is accomplished through its geography. One Officer's discussion of the delineation of the geometries of a camp, particularly to eliminate boundaries, is insightful:

> What we enjoyed this year because we're back under canvas – because the last two years we've been indoors – it was back together because obviously with the canvas we made a square, we had the big football pitch set up outside the square but in the square we had football, tennis going and two benches and the people were more together. The last two years at indoor centres people have broken up and [gone] into their rooms or you couldn't see things because there's walls and doors. Canvas feels like we're back together and everyone was mainly within sight or within hearing distance even if they were in the marquee behind us, so yeah, literally being together (I 024).

Reconfiguration of outdoor space is important because it can control what camp is designed to achieve. Other Officers stress that the 'new experience' of 'being in the countryside' has 'the added benefit of' encouraging 'some [boys] who might not appreciate natural things or might not have experienced [it] in that way' (I 003) to do so, and allows the opportunity for Officers to 'teach them a wee bit about the outdoors and respect for the outdoors' (I 009). Thus, there are two different complimentary spatialities of camp: the geometries of camp and its natural setting. Both, however, arguably have a distinct disciplinary role in the broadest sense that they are enlisted to shape 'selves'. For some, though, being outdoors is a return to the Founder's rationale behind camping:

> I think camp's a great experience for the boys. Certainly I would be very upset if The Brigade decided to take camping off the list of activities because I think it goes back to one of William Smith's, part of his ethos of challenging the boys, their adventurous side of their nature. Talking about wayfaring and flowers and leaves and trees, some of them will be interested in that, but most of them couldn't care less or they're not the least bit interested in it (I 005).

Clearly, fostering an appreciation and respect for the natural environment is an important aspect of camp's value, as is the outdoor environment as a source of challenge and adventure. Camp is not, then, created *entirely* from nothing. But, in saying this, it is the *sense* of nothingness from which it emerges that is valued by Officers as an essential element of the camp experience. One Officer perhaps puts it best when he succinctly remarks:

> Basically there is nothing, it's just a field, it's in the middle of nowhere and I think for city kids that's something very precious (I 008).

ENTERING A COCOON...

Camp is, then, characterised by isolation. Its value lies in the fact that in the 'virtual total privacy' (I 005), 'there's nobody around for miles except us' (I 001). That the location is isolated is itself viewed by Officers as important, but that camp isolates boys from their everyday lives, and particularly the technological trappings of these lives (e.g., TVs, mobile phones, PlayStations), is equally vital. Camp represents a return to 'simple' (I 024) forms of entertainment, the board game or 'silly games' (I 012) which prompts a regress to 'running about and playing boys' (I 024).

> We quite deliberately don't take computer games and stuff like that to camp but we take a lot of board games. [...] One of the things I've found, certainly with the current group of teenagers, is that, although they all like to think they're terribly sophisticated, they'll quite happily play silly games like 'port and starboard'. What we found, certainly as I say at camp, where because they don't tend to play games like Monopoly and Risk and Cluedo, when they're away it's quite a novelty to do these sort of games (I 012).

> It's nice that they're away from their parents, they're away from the TV, [...] they're back to simple running about and playing boys. [...] The camp takes them away from all their normal bits and pieces, it takes them away from hopefully their mobile phones and other stuff that's lightweight (I 024).

Indeed, the fact that the indoor environment allows access to these 'gadgets' is partly the reason that the already quoted Officer values the outdoor camping experience:

> I think it's the type of accommodation and the fact that at the end of the day they can still have their radios and their hairdryers and their other things, whatever, I don't think it measures up (I 008).

There are traces of a desire to slow down childhood here, that there is both a proper path and pace to boys' development which can be attained 'under canvas' but less easily indoors. The trappings of modern society eliminated at camp are arguably those technological advances that have served to speed life up. Hints of romantic regression to an alternative, simpler, boyhood are thus evident.

Geographically, then, camp is considered as a cocoon. One Officer's reflection is particularly insightful in advancing this understanding:

> I suppose it's different now because of the culture we live in where kids are mollycoddled. [...] Nowadays, when you go to an on-site camping environment you're kind of like in a wee bubble. You're never ever going to get into a situation you can't get out of. You're not going to meet a gang of boys from another town and think, 'oh my, how do we get out of this?' You're not learning as much. I suppose they don't have to think about it, because we're feeding them everything they're doing. Their activities are planned from the minute they get up to the minute they go to bed at night.

They've just got to go and enjoy it. Whereas, in years gone by, with a slightly different attitude towards child protection, you were left to your own devices and you got on with it, I don't know what's better to be honest (I 022).

In taking boys elsewhere, removing them from their everyday (material) lives and shielding them, camp acts as a cocoon in which relationships are built, skills are honed, and life-lessons learnt. Young people's everyday lives are often currently characterised by the shuttling back and forth between 'cocoons' (e.g., the car *en route* to and from school [Kearns *et al*, 2003] or formal private after school play spaces [Smith and Barker, 1999]). A BB camp could then be conceived as *just another* cocoon in which young people are protected. Officers do, however, consider camp *as a cocoon* to operate slightly differently; it is a slightly 'odd' cocoon. Where some cocoons protect by eliminating freedom, camp sanctions more spatial freedom than (some) young people are used to gaining:

I1: They generally get to do things that they probably wouldn't do...

I2: They get a lot of freedom.

I1: ...the activities and a lot of freedom...

I2: ...if you're from [A] or [B], well if they're living out in [B] they do get running in the streets, but the freedom to be safely running about outside with albeit adult supervision, but with limited adult supervision, is something that they don't really get and certainly a lot of the ones in [A] don't get any freedom, they're ferried everywhere by car. They're not allowed to walk home themselves this kind of thing, where we go to [camp] and they are allowed to have some (I 004).

As has been mentioned previously, camp does not provide unlimited freedom. Through supervision and the other disciplines in place at camp, limits are drawn and boundaries set. It is bounded, and thus remains a cocoon:

They can make their own entertainment to some extent. It's about there's nothing going to happen except what they do themselves essentially. It's a bit about making sure they can do something safely and putting some boundaries on it, and essentially they can go off and do what they need to do (I 001).

In sum, camp functions almost as a microcosm of life, *reflecting* The BB Company. But, just as in nature a pupa is a nurturing microcosm, protecting and shielding a process of development, it is also a site of metamorphosis from which one emerges dramatically changed. A pupa is both cocoon and chrysalis. It is perhaps, then, consideration of camp through the latter metaphor that most completely captures how Officers conceive camp *geographically*.

...EMERGING FROM A CHRYSALIS.

It has previously been noted that Officers perceive camp as an opportunity to 'get to know the boys', and these relationships have already been explored in depth. By 'getting to know the boy' at camp, however, Officers perceive that they not only 'see boys in a different light' but, in fact see

two *different* boys. There is a sense that being at camp allows the boy to shed the persona they adopt at a weeknight meeting and become the boy they 'are':

> You see them in a different light when they're away. You're not with them just for the two hours, you're with them from the minute they get up to the minute they go to bed. And some of the ones you think were maybe a bit like ogres are actually quite nice boys underneath and they're willing to help people […], and the ones you think maybe are quite shy and quiet nice wee boys are, when you get them on their own, they're not nice just all the time (I 018).

> It's an eye-opener. What you think you get on a Friday night and what you get at a summer camp is two different beasts. […] There's a couple of [boys] going this time that are maybe not the best behaved on a Friday night so we'll see how they get on at camp. But […] it could be the making of them. It could help break down some pre-set ideas you have of boys and hopefully get them back in next year and there'll not be the same problems (I 016).

Camp is also a site of metamorphosis; boys change 'at camp'. Moreover, this change is only evident on return to the Company. For some, boys return 'more mature':

> If you've been away with them their kind of respect, or kudos, your kudos with them goes up a little bit and they sometimes act in a more responsible, a more mature manner. There's not so much of the 'ha ha you've got a moustache' on a Friday […]. I think sometimes they take more seriously what you will be telling them, not in a very serious way. I think you can joke easy with them, the relationship becomes more informal, it becomes more relaxed. You've built up a lot of trust, I think, between you and that person (I 020).

For others they return with 'more confidence':

> They're different boys when they're away. Sometimes the boys are quieter and they go to camp and they come back and they're better, they've a bit more confidence about what they're doing (I 011).

Of course, here it is also worth reminding the reader of the less quantifiable, *felt* changes which surface in the Company on return from camp (see above). What is central, however, is that boys return from camp *changed*. Camp, as a site of metamorphosis, is part of a process of emergence. As one Officer succinctly comments:

> You'll see some who emerge through that. Maybe one or two will surprise you. So you might see some boys maybe shine through that otherwise weren't going to shine so much (I 009).

Derived from the Greek, *khrusallis*, the word chrysalis has roots in the word *khrusos* meaning gold, because, in nature, the surface of many pupae have a 'metallic sheen' (Pearsall, 2001: 254). With this etymology traced, Officers' geographical understanding of camp through the twin meanings of the word pupa is complete. As a cocoon, camp *reflects* The BB Company; it is a microcosm, encapsulating its disciplines and ethos. Considered as a chrysalis, it is something from which boys

emerge changed; it 'brings them on' (I 023), allows *them* to shine. Camp is, then, a protective space for *self*-development.

SUMMARY

Despite the range of forms practiced by Officers, a shared sense of the value of the 'camp experience' for boys and the Company as a whole clearly emerges. Four admittedly interrelated 'values' are crucial: i) that camp served as an attraction to boys aiding retention and recruitment; ii) that camp provided the opportunity to build relationships; iii) that camp brings a group of individuals together as a team; and, finally, iv) that camp provides an opportunity to develop life-skills.

Examination of the connection between the disciplinary spaces of camp and Company, revealed that camp serves as an *extension* of the latter disciplinary space in two important ways. Firstly, the disciplines and ethos of the 'indoor' space of the Company are extended outdoors at camp. Secondly, these disciplines themselves are extended; 'structured' cracks for which there is little time on a weekday evening are given room in the programme and quickly filled with 'constructive chat' through which both knowledge is attained and pastoral power subtly exercised. Moreover, illusory freedom is sanctioned in space in order to encourage responsibility and ultimately self-discipline: that boys bound the(m)self.

In the final section the importance of camp's countryside situation was highlighted as instilling in boys not only an appreciation and respect for 'the outdoors', but also a landscape which offered adventurous challenges (though undoubtedly the precise nature of such challenges received less attention). The fact that camp emerges from a sense of nothingness was also noted in that it allowed the geometries of the camp to be established in order to draw out the values which it is designed to achieve. Finally, by turning to consider how camp is conceived geographically by Officers, it was suggested that the twin meaning of the word pupa (i.e., cocoon and chrysalis) best encapsulates the sense that camp acts not only as a microcosm but a site of metamorphosis.

In closing, however, it is perhaps useful to add to this understanding (and perhaps begin to disrupt it). In many conversations, Officers not only discussed camp but were also themselves transported to camp (and this is evidenced on occasion above). But shining through these recollections of camp experiences is an overwhelming sense of enjoyment of *past* camp experiences. This is not only an interesting observation, but adds to the theoretical understanding of the geographical accomplishment of The BB that this series of vignettes is attempting to build. Just as in VIGNETTE TWO, it was suggested that parades are not only accomplished 'on the ground' through the movement of bodies communicating a (secular) message, but are accomplished 'in minds' through the communication of (sacred) messages, past camp experiences have also entered these Officers' minds and, one would suggest, hearts. But it is enjoyment that has secured this passage into their hearts and minds. Through the exploration of empirical data derived from the questionnaire survey (see CHAPTER THREE), it was noted that enjoyment both in the present and *in*

the past is a crucial motivation for current Officers to provide (and to run) BB Companies in their local communities. Put another way, enjoyment of past accomplishments is a motivation behind Officers continuing to *accomplish* The BB. That camp continues to be enjoyable for boys is therefore crucial to its future accomplishment, ensuring that it is continually recreated. It is perhaps apt, then, that I close with the following Officer's remark:

> I think [...] sometimes we maybe psychologicalise things too much; it's actually quite good for them to just go away and have a good time. That was something [John] and I always spoke about. Sometimes we get too hung up about, I don't think The BB would want to be too educational. [...] Actually it is important that we go away and have a good time and they enjoy themselves (I 012).

WAYPOINT

>> CHAPTER SEVEN finally turns to open the doors of a BB Company, stepping inside to view its materialisation in all its 'messiness'. By weaving together field-diary entries, boys drawings and still images from the participatory video, a 'typical' evening is set out step by step from its beginning to end. This provides the platform for a critical appraisal of the importance of the routines that realise the Company.

> Empty. [...] It's not the same if the boys aren't there. The hall's empty until they all rush in (I 007).

It is with a sense of anxiety that Officers approach the empty, boy-less, hall (I 004; I 013). Several questions fly around their minds (e.g., 'how many boys are here?, have we got enough staff to start?, is it going to work?' [I 004], 'what have I forgot?' [I 009]);

> It's what I need to do that night, what I need to organise and what I need to organise also for the week if there's other events that they're taking part in. I will go and deal with things like that. So usually when I'm coming over my head's full of that (I 011).

Their feelings are shaped too by external events: they are tinged by memories of a 'bad' week the week before (I 009), a bad day at work (I 010), or, they are occupied by how they have, during that day, upset their wife (I 005). Yet, entwined with this trepidation (I 004) is enthusiasm and, indeed, hope for what can be achieved in the hours to come when the empty hall is reconfigured to become the complex site of a BB Company;

> At the start of the night it is filled with hope and enthusiasm. I've never, touch wood, got to the stage where I arrive at the door and I think I don't want to turn this key, I don't want to open the door. It's never happened to me yet (I 022).

The final question asked in interviews prompted Officers to reflect upon the feelings that they associated with the process of arriving at their BB Company's meeting place, feelings brought to the forefront of their thoughts through the interviewer invoking the imagery of them, key in hand, unlocking the door of the empty hall. Some, it transpired, arrived up to 45 minutes early to prepare before the boys arrived (I 023). Others arrived after; the boys having been let in by an Officer-In-Charge (OIC) (I 012), school janitor (I 016) or church hall-keeper (I 024). Resultantly, for this latter Officer, 'the feeling is of life and energy [...] when I come in. And I'll add more life to it and we're off and flying' (I 024). For others, as the quotation opening this chapter attests, the feeling changes once the boys arrive; 'It happens from time to time, [I go] down with little enthusiasm, just get this over and done with [...] but once you step in the hall you've got

everything prepared, the boys come in, they're alive' (I 010); dead space thus enlivened (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). Similarly, a second Officer comments; 'There are the some Friday nights I go down to the hall and say, 'oh, I wish it was ten o'clock and not seven o'clock', but that tends to pass as soon as the boys start to appear and generally once I'm into it on a Friday night it's an enjoyable evening of activities' (I 005). When the boys arrive, Officers' sense of the space changes, but, boys crossing the threshold of the hall also marks the point when 'like everything else it goes pear-shaped the minute somebody arrives or something goes wrong' (I 022); it introduces the possibility of plans disrupted.

What follows is not, however, a simple celebration of young people's disruption of, or indeed romanticisation of their open resistance to, the adult disciplinary system outlined in the previous couplet. Instead, it is a window on the negotiation of the disciplinary space of The BB Company, an unstable site of contestation created in the interstice between competing actors agendas. Drawing entirely upon detailed participant observation (and latterly observant participation: Thrift, 2000: 556) in one BB Company each Thursday evening of their 2004-2005 session (i.e., between the months of September and June), this penultimate empirical chapter, in its attentiveness to the activities, disciplinary practices and routines on-going in this Company, attempts to sketch its real-time substantive accomplishment.

SPATIAL JUGGLING

The realisation of the Company under study was only made possible through a complex spatial and temporal juggling act. Over three-and-a-quarter hours on the same evening the three sections comprising the Company meet in the same premises (see Box 1) with around 50 boys shuttling between rooms almost unnoticed by the others. Between 6:30pm and 7:30pm the Anchor Boys occupy the 'Large Hall'. Half-an-hour later the Junior Section arrive, starting in the 'Small Hall' at 7:00pm and moving through to the 'Large Hall' that the Anchor Boys have left half an hour later. A few minutes after they vacate the 'Small Hall', it is soon occupied by boys of the Company Section awaiting their Bible Class that begins at 7:45pm. By 8:00pm, the formal opening of the evening is underway, followed by a 'free' fifteen minutes occupied by a variety of activities before moving through to the 'Large Hall' at 8:30pm, which the Junior Section has just vacated. Throughout this time parents arrive to collect their children, sometimes more than once as brothers are in different sections. Officers too arrive and leave. Apart from the Captain, the other three Anchor Boy staff leave at 7:30pm. Excepting the OIC, in Junior Section too the three staff leave at their section's close. By 7:45pm another Officer arrives to assist the Captain at Company Section, a staff complement added to by the Junior Section OIC at 8:30pm. As a result, the Captain himself is continually occupied from the moment of arrival at 6:25pm to unlock the hall door to the moment he turns the key again at the close of the evening around 9:55pm; his 15 minutes 'off' between Anchor Boys finishing at 7:30pm and leading the Company Section Bible Class at 7:45pm is usually spent watching the Junior Section's 'maze marching'.

Box 1 **Plan of Premises**

Small Hall

Large Hall

Stage

Disabled
Toilet

Female
Toilet

Male
Toilet

Kitchen

Guild Room

Front Room

Not to scale

Entrance
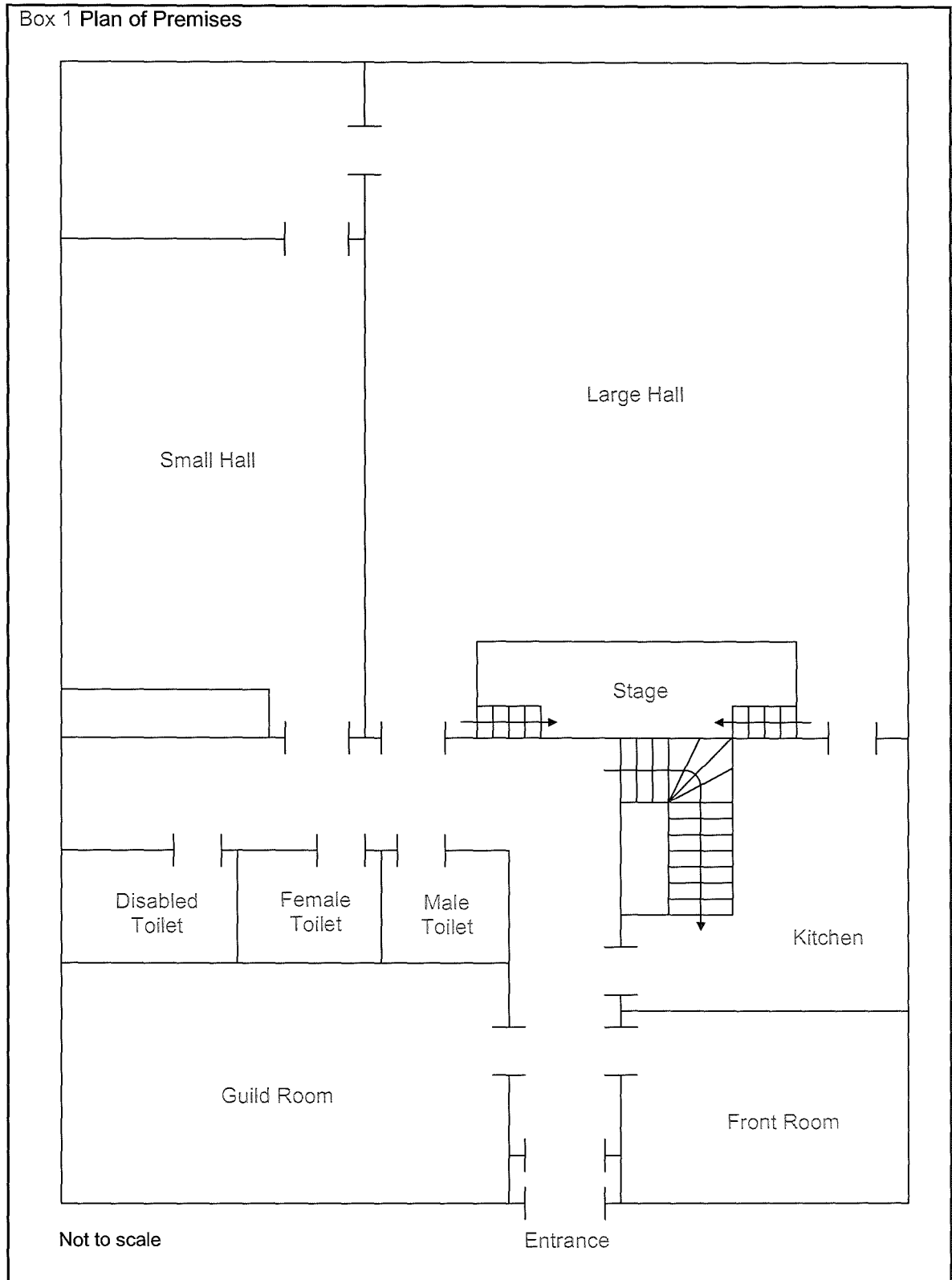
Quite consciously shadowing the Captain's movements, I alternated between using these 15 minutes to watch the Junior Section or going through to the 'Small Hall' early to observe what occurred prior to the Bible Class commencing. As a result, what follows does not contain a detailed study of the Junior Section. This caveat now noted, discussion proceeds to provide an outline of the activities occurring during these three-and-a-quarter hours. Drawing upon field diary

entries, a representation of the disciplinary space of this Company emerges through the creation of a collage of moments observed and periods of participation.

ACTIVITIES
ANCHOR BOYS

Red. Amber. Green.

Upon arriving at Anchor Boys, one of these three colours is the first word most boys hear. Busily engaged in running around the hall, boys are brought to a halt and have to stand stalk still on hearing the command 'red'. When 'amber' is called, they walk slowly round the room, only being allowed to run (counter-clockwise) on the command 'green' (see Plate 13). This game – 'Traffic Lights' – begins a programme of activities each week which variously includes: a roll call, 'column games', the watching of a cartoon-style Christian video, singing, drama, a prayer, the presentation of a group trophy, and games such as 'What's the time Mr. Wolf?', 'dodge ball' and football, as well as those using a coloured parachute. Not all activities occur each week, but certain 'core' elements of the programme appear with sufficient regularity such that a 'typical' programme can be drawn up as follows: 'traffic lights', roll call, 'column games', video, section games, group trophy presentation, prayer.

Borrowing from Evans' (2000: 276) adoption of Wolcott's 'day-in-the-life' ethnographic writing strategy (1994: 19 quoted in *ibid.*), what follows is an explication of these activities through the composition of a 'typical' evening weaving together the events which occurred across various evenings throughout the field work. What is attempted, then, differs slightly from Evans' approach: the aim is not to 'write a story as if it were my *first visit*' (2000: 276; original emphasis) but to create a 'composite narrative' (*ibid.*) of a clearly non-existent – yet typical – evening. This narrative provides the platform for later analytic discussion.

ROLL CALL

With the instruction 'to your groups', the game of 'Traffic lights' comes to an end and the boys sit on the floor one behind the other, legs crossed and arms folded. There is a pause while the Captain waits for silence, a period prolonged by boys with a single finger placed in front of their mouths saying 'Shhhhh'. If the chatter continues, the Captain simply stands with his arm outstretched looking at his watch, an action met with a chorus of boys saying 'wasting time': this signifying that it is their own time, not the Captain's, that they are wasting (Field Diary, 09/09/04). Before the roll call begins they also shuffle backwards slightly if the 'leading boy' – the individual at the front of each group and who should set an example to *their* group (Field Diary, 16/09/04; 23/09/04; 07/10/04) – is not in line with the cupboard door (Field Diary, 02/09/04; see also Box 2). Despite the fact that, with the exception of the leading boy, no boy has a defined position in the group,

there is still a degree of jostling for position. Indeed, one episode revealed how important being in a particular place in the group became for one boy, 'John'[139].

Plate 13 'Traffic Lights'[140]
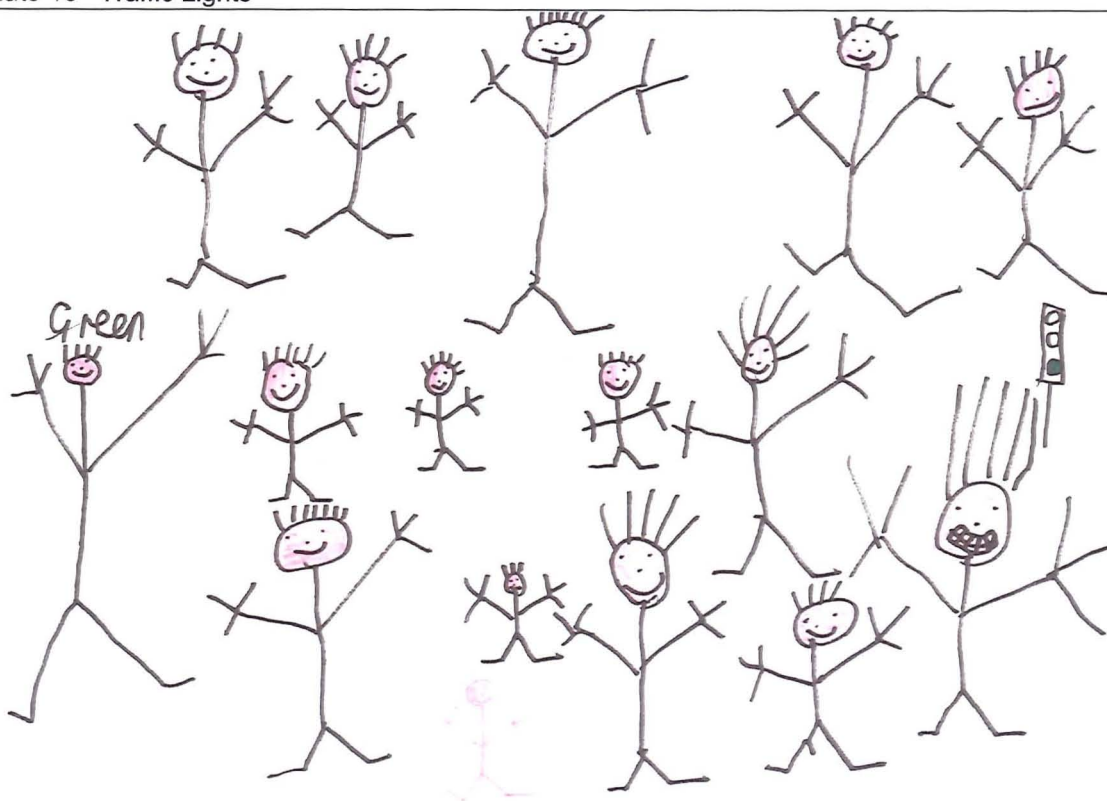
For a number of weeks I had observed John, who, after participating in the opening game of traffic lights, would suddenly drop out and sit next to the chairs at the back of the room (see Box 2). After witnessing this for a few weeks, I approached John, more out of a concern that nothing was wrong or upsetting him than for reasons related to the research. On each occasion I did so I was met with the same response: he just felt like sitting out. But I continued to find his actions curious. Finally, one week it appeared to make sense. John regularly 'dropped out' of the game and waited in the corner just a few minutes before the instruction 'to your groups' was given; on hearing it, his position next to the wall and nearest his own group's line allowed him to run to occupy his position behind his best friend 'Steven', the 'leading boy' in group three, before anyone else. John's actions, opting out of activity, arguably resemble not resistance but rather a smaller *negotiation* of the spatio-temporal regime of The BB Company. Thus, the (methodological) difficulty of identifying resistance, Adas's aforementioned anxiety (see CHAPTER ONE), is evidenced in practice here stressing the importance of a nuanced conceptualisation of resistance.

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[139] Pseudonyms have been adopted when making reference to specific boys, a deliberate manoeuvre to ensure anonymity but also to allow readers to note when it is the same boy to whom the author is referring.

[140] Pictures were drawn by eight Anchor Boys on the evening of Thursday 6th January 2005. The Captain led the boys in a discussion of their favourite thing about Anchor Boys and then the boys were encouraged to draw it on a piece of paper. They were also told that they were not going to get their drawings home that night but instead I ('Mr Kyle') would judge them and announce a winner next week. Thus, outwith my control, research activity became competition. As the boys drew the pictures I went round the groups, encouraging them and asking them about what they had drawn. On a more practical note, boys sat in twos round tables to complete their drawings, and drew for about twenty minutes.

Once silence is secured and movement ceases, the Captain proceeds to call each boy's name in turn, the correct response being 'Here Sir'. On some occasions the 'roll call' took ten minutes to complete (Field Diary, 09/09/04), often delayed by one boy needing to go to the toilet and as many as eight others deciding they too needed to go when asked (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

Box 2 Large Hall

Not to scale

Annotation: Individuals present in the 'Large Hall' during Anchor boys are as follows: + Captain, □ Boys, O Company Section NCOs, △ Other Officers, and, ◯ myself. Permanent features of the hall are: 1, a cupboard; 2, covered radiators; 3, stacked tables; 4, stacked chairs; 5, a table; and, 6, a filing cabinet.
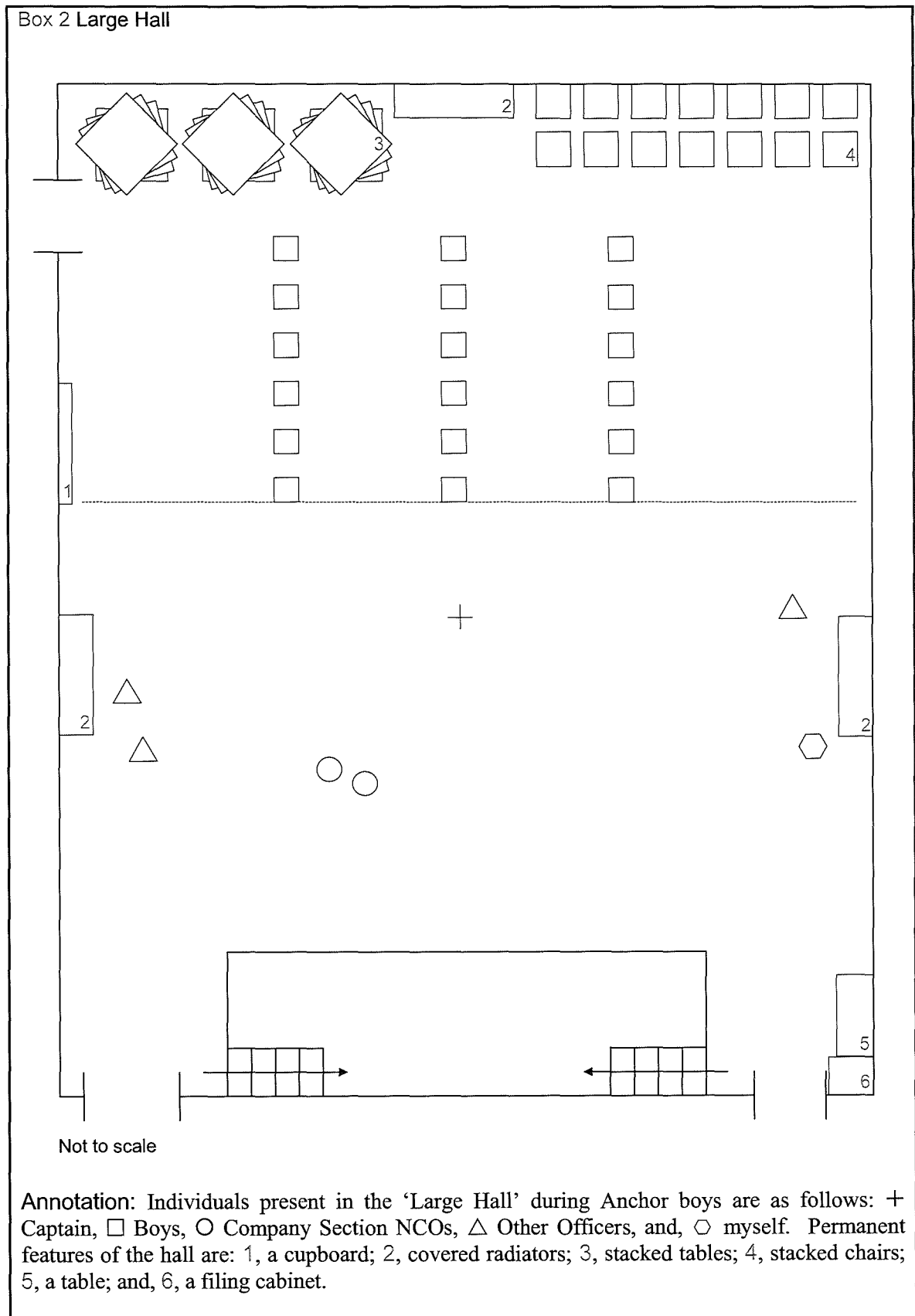
COLUMN GAMES

These groups form the basis of the next activity, collectively called 'column games' (Plate 14). Each team must variously run (with or without a ball between their legs), hop, bunny jump, skip through a hoop or dribble a football (or using a hockey stick a small ball) from the 'invisible line' on the floor to the stage and return to the group so that the next boy in the 'column' can do the same. A favourite game in this format is the 'chain game' (see Plate 15), in which one boy runs to the stage and back and links arms with the next boy until the whole group is linked and runs together. In each of these variations, it is only when all boys have completed the task and are sitting quietly – legs crossed, arms folded – that a winner is announced. On one occasion this was made explicit by the Captain: 'he made it clear that points were given to the groups, not those who had *finished* first but those who were sitting in a straight line and were the *quietest* first. And for the benefit of two new boys, celebrating a win by waving hands around wasn't allowed' (Field Diary, 16/09/04; added emphasis). NCOs from the Company Section stand by the stage, pen and paper in hand, totting up the scores and keeping a running total as the evening progresses, carefully recording which team should win the trophy at the end of the evening (see below)[141]. Occasionally, points are deducted for behaviour deemed unsuitable, and especially for over celebration (Field Diary, 14/10/04) and conduct unbecoming of a 'leading boy':

> The totals were totted up and the trophy was awarded to group three. Cheering and clapping followed but then the 'leading boy' danced and his team was docked ten points. He, understandably, looked dejected. Group two were now the winners. It's ok to clap and cheer but dancing isn't allowed (Field Diary, 09/09/04).

Plate 14 'Column Games'	Plate 15 'Chain Game'
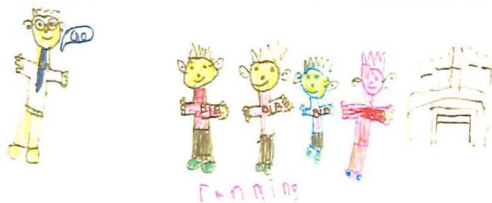
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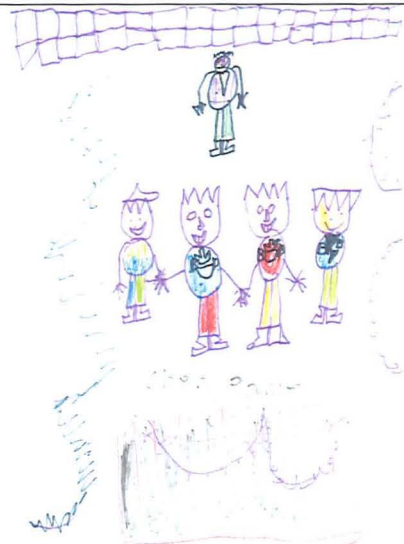
[141] Two Company Section NCOs assisted each week with the running of Anchor Boys in part-fulfilment of their service to the Company, which worked towards their attainment of their leadership/Queen's badge. These two boys (one of which was the Captain's son) not only scored the competitions but also played an active part in the programme, participating in several of the games and often accepting more responsibility. For example, in the week of the Captain's absence at Anchor Boys: '[The Captain's son] took charge of the evening and replicated [the Captain's] actions, even looking at his watch (though he did so laughing as he did it, as if it was rather silly to be copying him; he looked as if he was playing a role almost)' (Field Diary, 30/09/04).

VIDEO

Following the 'column games', and usually around 7:00pm, boys are asked to line up along the wall next to the stage and move through to the 'Front Room' (see Box 3.1) to watch a cartoon-style Christian video. This part of the evening's programme has been eagerly anticipated from the first night when a boy 'asked if they would be watching a video about Jesus tonight' (Field Diary, 02/09/04). Indeed, this activity proves popular with the boys. When asked one week to draw their favourite activity at Anchor Boys, three of the eight boys who participated drew pictures representing the video time; no other activity received more pictorial 'votes' (Field Diary, 06/01/05; see Plate 16). The video shown is often one from the *Superbook* range in which two children happen across an ancient book and are transported back in time, seeing Bible stories 'first-hand'. Another favourite is Max Lucado's stories about the adventures of *Hermie: A Common Caterpillar* (see 2004). On each occasion only about five or ten minutes of the video is shown, and then what had been seen used as the basis for a short discussion. For example:

> [The video] was about how the caterpillar (Hermie) didn't think he was special. He dreamed he could fly, but couldn't, and his friends ridiculed him as a result. He prayed to God to make him special then sang a song about him wishing he was taller, bigger, thinner etc. That way he could be special. [The video] was stopped here and [the Captain] asked if the boys had dreams of what they wanted to do when they were older. Kangaroo was the first answer, elephant the second, though ice cream van driver was also given (though admittedly this was only so he could eat all the ice cream, [the Captain] replying 'you would be the size of an elephant!' – the same boy having said both). Footballer, clown, jet pilot, soldier, policeman, scientist also all came out. [The Captain] said they could be any one of these things if they asked God to help them (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

Plate 16 **Video**

Box 3 Front Room

Not to scale   .1   .2

Annotation: (.1) The Front Room is home to the crèche and as a result contains the paraphernalia associated with pre-school age children. There is: 1, a slide; 2, a play kitchen; 3, a bookcase containing children's books; and, 4, a few stacked chairs. The presence of these toys did not aid the Anchor Boys' (□) concentration while watching the video. With the exception of the Captain (+) who moves beside the mobile cupboard in which the video was housed, others present (△ Officers, O NCOs, ○ myself) occasionally had to encourage boys who were more interested in the various toys to engage in the events unfolding on the screen in front of them. Boys, perhaps unsurprisingly, are not silent at this time: they laugh at, and occasionally commented upon, the story. Nor is silence demanded; boys only being told to 'sit down' if they showed signs of moving away from their seated position or to 'be quiet' if the level of noise is preventing other boys from hearing the television. (.2) Once the video finishes the television cupboard is closed, locked, and returned to its position in the corner of the room. Any chairs used by the staff are re-stacked. Concurrently, the boys form a line (of sorts) against the wall. Only once the noise level approaches silence are they led back through to the 'Large Hall', usually by an NCO, Officers and myself following on behind.

SECTION GAMES

Following the video and subsequent discussion, the boys line up (see Box 3.2) and walk back through to the 'large hall' to play some more games as one big group. On some occasions this is football which, 'a bit like organised chaos!' (Field Diary, 09/09/04), takes the form of around 20 boys in two indistinguishable teams crowded round the ball chasing it *en masse* with Officers on the side-lines encouraging them to pass (with limited success). On others a parachute is used (Field Diary, 30/09/04; 14/10/04). Coloured with red, green, blue and yellow sections, each boy is allocated a colour and, when that is shouted, has to run underneath to their colour on the other side (see Plate 17). Sometimes a ball is placed on the parachute and boys are arranged in two teams, one on each side of the parachute. The aim of the game is to shake the parachute so that the ball falls off on the other team's side. When this happens the 'scoring' team is awarded a point. During this time, though, these points are not translated into points for their group. This is not the case, however, with the final two games played almost every evening: 'What's the time, Mr Wolf?' and 'dodge ball' (see Plate 18). The last boy who has not been caught by the Officers acting as wolves in the former, or who has successfully dodged the balls thrown and kicked along the floor by Officers in the latter, is awarded ten points for his group.
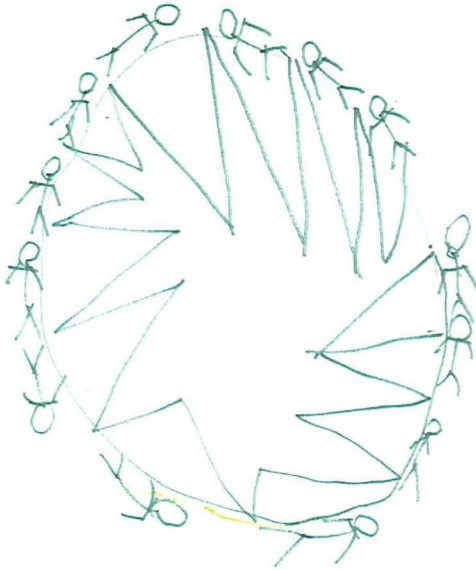
Plate 17 Parachute	Plate 18 Dodge ball

TROPHY PRESENTATION

The penultimate act of each evening is also, perhaps, the most curious. Points gathered by each group over the course of the evening – in the 'column games' at its outset and two games at its close – are totted up and a trophy awarded to the 'leading boy' of the winning group; on first glance a simple prize-giving practice, to be sure, but one prompting a profound emotional response in the boys. On each occasion the trophy is awarded, there is a desire expressed by each group member to touch, hug and even kiss their trophy. The Captain only allows this to happen for a brief period of time, perhaps half a minute or so, before asking the 'leading boy' to stand the trophy up in front of their line. The evening then closes with prayer. Indeed, the Captain later confides 'that they used to use sweets for the prize but the trophy was actually better because they want their 30 seconds with it' (Field Diary, 07/10/04). Each trophy win is transferred onto a chart on the wall, NCOs adding a drawing of a 'trophy' to a bar chart recording which team had won. As the year progresses, this chart becomes crucial to the maintenance of close competition; the Captain, before announcing each win, casually glancing at the sheet on the notice-board to ensure another win did not allow one group too great an advantage[142]:

> Group Three won the trophy this week but only after [the Captain] checked the sheet to see past winners. But, as they've each won it twice I don't think the levelling-out exercise was needed! (Field Diary, 28/10/04).

PRAYER

Before leaving, the boys sit as they had done almost an hour previously: legs crossed, arms folded. The Captain asks them to close their eyes and clasp their hands before slowly saying the final

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[142] Thus, realised here is one of several mechanisms Officers use to maintain close competition ensuring it works correctly, fulfilling a (disciplinary) end beyond competition itself (see CHAPTER SIX).

prayer, the boys joining in as he does so: 'Jesus gentle shepherd hear me. Bless thy little lamb tonight. Through the darkness be thou near me. Keep me safe till morning light' (Field Diary, 16/09/04). On one occasion the Captain asked if they knew who were the 'little lambs'; and they replied, us. Following this prayer they are dismissed and run to the back of the hall to collect their jackets, hurriedly thrown on the tables and chairs earlier so that they could join in the first game of 'Traffic Lights'. On the way back out the hall they are occasionally handed a leaflet for their parents, all the while with the words 'don't leave till someone's there!' (Field Diary, 09/09/04) echoing in their ears. The evening for the Anchor Boys has ended.

JUNIOR SECTION

MAZE MARCHING

It starts half-an-hour earlier for the Junior Section, who, after the Anchor Boys have left the 'Large Hall', arrive equally noisily for 'maze marching':

> The Junior Section came swiftly in and lined up to do 'maze marching'. I watched as they marched a couple of times round the hall and down the middle, occasionally getting told to swing their arms. The Junior Section OIC did say that if they do it right they'd get more games because 'I'm horrible, if it's not right you'll do it again and again, isn't that right?' Yes came the response, but it was all good humoured (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

In reality a lesson in co-ordination and deportment, maze marching, a basic introduction to drill itself, involves boys performing a series of carefully orchestrated manoeuvres together (see Box 4). More advanced manoeuvres are added as the year progresses: a criss-cross (two lines marching from the corners to those diagonally opposite crossing each other in the middle); and a circle (the leading boy marching in a clockwise direction in a circle gradually decreasing in size before turning and marching counter-clockwise out of the circle before proceeding round the hall once again). This series of manoeuvres frequently takes around ten minutes to perform each evening, and they 'did it largely with a smile' (Field Diary, 30/09/04). Moreover, their performance is met with both praise and corrective criticism:

> [The OIC] praised them saying they'll all be like little soldiers with practice (Field Diary, 30/09/04).

> The boys got a wee bit mixed up at one point, the older boys that is. [The OIC] had to tell them to be prepared – just like the Scouts – because they won't always be in the same place each week (Field Diary, 14/10/04).

Box 4 **Maze Marching**

.1 .2 .3

.4 .5 .6

Annotation: Formed in a single static line one behind the other, tallest to the right (i.e., nearest the stage) and shortest to the left (.1), on the command '**Section, quick march**' they begin to march round the hall (.2). On the second time round the hall they split, an Officer directing the first to go left, the second right and so on (.3). The skill is now for each line to keep pace with the other on the opposite side of the hall as they advance up the room. On some occasions these two lines pass each other to continue their march round the hall. More often, upon reaching the mid-point at the 'top' of the hall, they join together and march back down the hall side by side in pairs (.3). These pairs, then directed to go left and right once more, march to the top of the hall again before joining to become fours for a second march down the centre of the hall (.4). These fours are then directed to split in the middle into twos; one 'half' turning left, the other right (.5). On reaching the mid-point at the top of the hall these twos slot in one behind the other to march down the hall before halving again to form two single lines, which, again, slot together on reaching the mid-point at the top of the hall (.6). Thus, the line arrives back at its starting position in its original form (.1).

COMPANY SECTION

BIBLE CLASS

Although the Company Section does not formally begin until 8:00pm, all boys are expected to attend Bible Class for the 15 minutes beforehand. Around 7:30pm NCOs go through to the 'Small Hall' to set up the hall, placing 'chairs in rows so that each squad is sitting in a row with its NCO at the right' (Field Diary, 02/09/04; see Box 3). Seats are left empty for those who are missing. Before Bible Class, boys use the time as they arrive to chat, tell jokes, wind each other up, mess

around and catch up with the day's or week's events at school (Field Diary, 23/09/04). At 7:45pm Bible Class commences. The Captain usually takes an event that had occurred that week to spark a discussion, embedding within the discussion a Christian message. For example;

> [The Captain] began by talking about a programme which had been shown on Tuesday night about a woman who had adopted a child with Down's Syndrome. One thing one of the four children she'd adopted said he hated was people staring at him when he went anywhere. [The Captain] also recounted how his wife's father hated people talking about him while he was in the wheelchair; often asking the person who was pushing the chair how the person in it was feeling. This led to a discussion of what was normal. The boys eventually suggested that it doesn't exist because everyone's idea of 'normal' is different. Someone else said too that common sense doesn't exist on the same grounds. There followed a discussion about difference and how people should not be mocked because they are different, because we are all different. The story of Jesus healing the leper[143] was read out at this point, but that we should not laugh at or judge others on the basis of their difference was the real message (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

On other occasions the Captain poses a question, for example, 'what is development?' using this as the launch pad into discussion (Field Diary, 23/09/04). Other weeks it is an activity which serves as the approach;

> Before Bible class started [the Captain] asked me if I knew a Bible reference, where Jesus mentions the sheep and the goats, and so, throughout the first activity [the Captain] set them to do – draw something/one you hate – I frantically hunted. I knew it was in Matthew somewhere and eventually found it (though at this point wasn't quite sure how it linked to the unfolding activity)[144]. A dart board had been brought down from upstairs and in turn each boy put their sheet on the dart board and threw three darts. School teachers were a popular target for their hate, along with William Shatner's singing, shopping, and Nazis. [The Captain] then read the reading and said that the essence of it was

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[143] Mark 1: 40-45 states; 'A man with leprosy came to him and begged him on his knees, 'If you are willing, you can make me clean'. Filled with compassion, Jesus reached out his hand and touched the man. 'I am willing,' he said. 'Be clean!' Immediately the leprosy left him and he was cured. Jesus sent him away at once with a strong warning: 'See that you don't tell this to anyone. But go, show yourself to the priest and offer the sacrifices that Moses commanded for your cleansing, as a testimony to them.' Instead, he went out and began to talk freely, spreading the news. As a result, Jesus could no longer enter a town openly but stayed outside in the lonely places. Yet the people still came to him from everywhere' (NIV, 2003: 1465).

[144] Matthew 25: 31-46 states: 'When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on his throne in heavenly glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate the people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. He will put the sheep on his right and the goats on his left. Then the King will say to those on his right, 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me.' Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in, or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you?' The King will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me.' Then he will say to those on his left, 'Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me nothing to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not invite me in, I needed clothes and you did not clothe me, I was sick and in prison and you did not look after me.' They also will answer, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or needing clothes or sick or in prison, and did not help you?' He will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did not do for one of the least of these, you did not do for me.' Then they will go away to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life.' (NIV, 2003: 1449-1453)

that whenever you do something you do it also to me (me being Jesus) because he's watching and is everywhere. He took off a sheet of paper from the dart board that had been there all along and turned it round to reveal a picture of Jesus, thereby making the point. Bible class ended on that note with [the Captain] asking if anyone wanted to throw a dart at the now turned round picture. Some, of course, said they would but no-one actually did (Field Diary, 28/10/04).

This particular 'window' on the communication of a Christian message is insightful in that the acts deemed (in)appropriate here are 'sanctioned' by a 'higher power': an omnipresent and omnivident God. Not only does this serve to establish a shared identity between boys and Officers (they too being 'governed' by God) but also pinpoints that in Officers' deference to something 'beyond' the physical space of the BB Company there is also a subtle translation of the agency of control from their corporeal selves to an incorporeal 'body' without The BB Company. The rationale behind the form of Christian teaching taking place during this time was crystallised through a discussion earlier that month, which, in taking an unintended route, proved to be an enlightening detour:

> A discussion followed with one boy who wanted to know if you had to go to church to be a Christian and then it widened out to ask if you could be a Christian and not pray, go to church, or believe in God or Jesus. He was asked if he thought he was a Christian since he didn't believe in God and puzzled over the question of 'who made God?' or the dilemmas posed by dinosaurs. [The Captain] said it was ok not to be sure but that his job was to tell him about Jesus and what Christianity was all about so that he could decide later on if he was a Christian; it was his task to help him answer his questions (Field Diary, 07/10/04).

FALL-IN

Following Bible Class the chairs are cleared away and the formal fall-in ceremony commences. Through the issuing of a series of commands (see Box 6), boys work their way back to the positions where they had been seated just a few minutes previously (see Box 5). Although the movement of events annotated (on this occasion) took 3 minutes and 45 seconds to complete, the precise length and degree of formality of this event alters each week, primarily due to the periodic inclusion of an inspection. For example, during the monthly 'squad challenge' in which squads compete against each other in a series of tasks ranging from physical activities to drill, 'the inspection [is] quite formal with [the Captain] being very thorough and knocking off points for talking or messing about when he [is] inspecting other squads' (Field Diary, 07/10/04). On one specific occasion, 'NCOs took the roll and the boys replied with 'Sir' which was a bit more formal than it had been. In fact, tonight felt a bit more formal overall, but [the Captain] later said it was one of those weeks when he seemed to just be shouting at them' (Field Diary, 23/09/04). On another occasion, 'the opening was slightly shorter with no inspection and [the Captain] did the roll call, but [one boy] was pulled up for not saying 'Here Sir'. He was given several attempts but never picked up the hint and always just said 'here' (Field Diary, 28/10/04). And on still others, the tone of the period would best be described as 'purposeful light-heartedness':

Squad Two's NCO didn't have uniform at the start when he walked in late [one boy] said 'where's your suit boy?'. [The Captain] said that was his question and repeated it for comedy effect. [The Captain] then posed the question, how can he tell another boy in his squad to bring his uniform if the NCO doesn't; he's meant to be setting an example. The inspection continued and one boy in Squad Three, realising he had red tops to his black socks pulled them right up his legs, almost to his knees, but when [the Captain] came round he simply said I don't need to see yours, assuming they were black. I shared a laugh with an Officer who had witnessed the incident as clearly as [I] had, but we said nothing (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

Interestingly, the absence of the Captain one week due to illness led to a unique almost actor-led performance of the pre-set parade routine;

Fall-in followed though there was no inspection and the Officer leading the proceedings didn't have a secure knowledge of the commands. The NCOs did the routine as normal, maintaining a semblance of order. In fact, tonight they were more in control than the Officers, [the Junior Section OIC] excepted. After the fall-in (the boys were dismissed rather than fallen-out) at 8:15pm the boys got changed and then messed about for about 15 minutes with nothing to do (Field Diary, 30/09/04).

THE 'FREE' FIFTEEN MINUTES

The 15 minutes of 'free' time, on some occasions filled with conversation with me about my research, is variously occupied with static drill (Field Diary, 28/10/04), a game (e.g., 'stop the bus'; Field Diary, 16/09/04), a chat about an upcoming event (usually the weekend away; Field Diary, 09/09/04; 23/09/04), the opportunity for boys to get changed for physical activity, or the start of classes (see below). As the annual display approaches, this time is used for preparation of some of the elements of that event's programme[145]. Some weeks this time-slot is given over to me to lead the boys in research activity (e.g., providing an introduction to the research (Field Diary, 09/09/04), the distribution of diaries (Field Diary, 28/10/04), or 'mapping' the spaces that they liked/disliked). Thus, these 'free' 15 minutes while the Company Section awaits access to the 'Large Hall' at 8:30pm, after the departure of the Junior Section, is approached with a degree of flexibility.

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[145] The 75th Annual Display of the Company was held on the evening of Tuesday 9th June 2005. The Vice-President of the Battalion acted as 'Inspecting Officer' and the president of the Battalion 'Guest of Honour'. The programme for the event included (in running order): Company Fall-in and Opening Service, Maze Marching (performed by Junior Section), Fifties style fitness (Company Section), Indian Clubs (Company Section 'recruits' and myself), Singing Sensations (Anchor Boys), Boys of the Old Brigade (Rifle Drill by Senior Company Section boys), a sketch 'The Tramp' (Junior Section), Anchor Boy Games, In the Life Boys (a comedic song to the tune of 'In the Navy' performed by Officers of the Company [and myself] dressed as Life Boys), more Anchor Boy games, 'Is this the way...' (a drill routine performed by the Company Section set to Tony Christie's 'Is this the way to Amarillo' popularised by the release of a version with comedian Peter Kay), Finale, Captain's Remarks, Section Fall-in, Inspecting Officer's Remarks, Presentations, Closing Service. The content of the programme was built around the fact that this year was the Company's 75th anniversary and consequently incorporated numerous references to past activities and key moments in The BB's history (e.g., the Life Boys disbanding in 1966 to become the Junior Section, the carrying of dummy rifles being disallowed, smoothing the way to the amalgamation of The Boys' Life Brigade and The BB in 1926, and Indian clubs, a rhythmical physical exercise technique requiring drill-like obedience to commands, a degree of dexterity and self-discipline).

Box 5 Small Hall

Not to scale
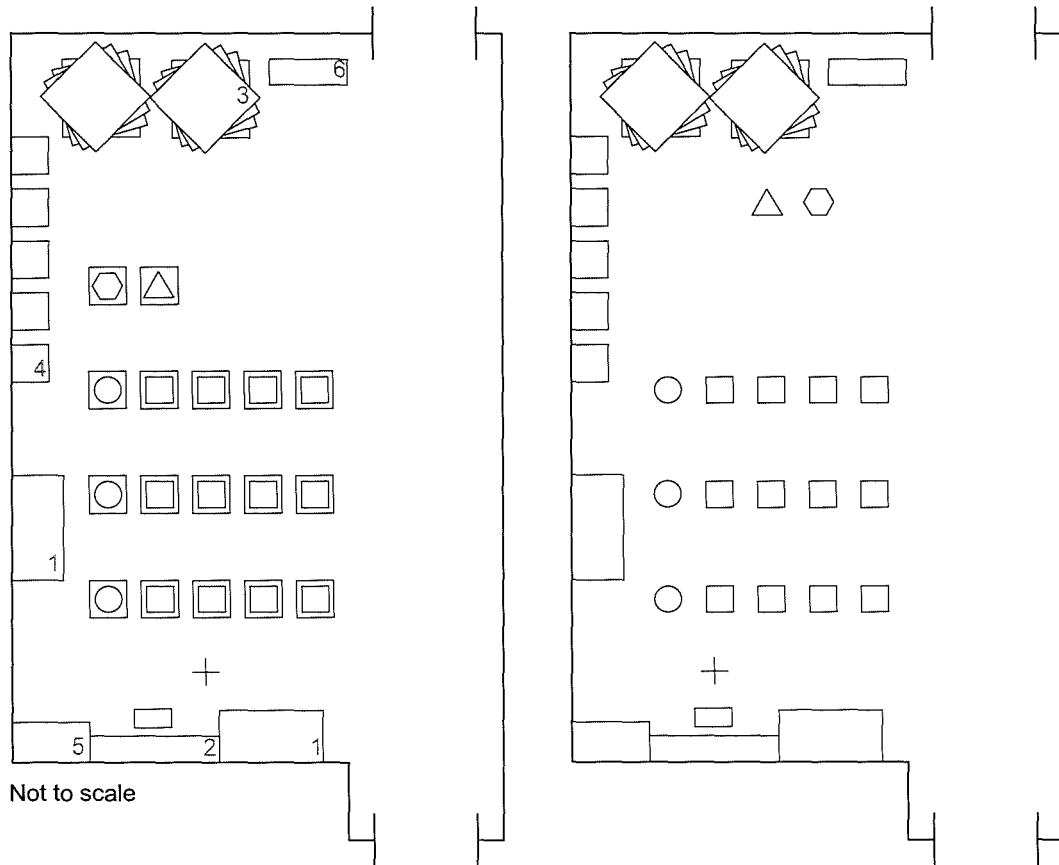
Annotation: Individuals present: + Captain, □ Boys, O NCOs, △ Other Officer, and, ◇ myself. Permanent features of the hall are: 1, tables; 2, piano; 3, stacked tables; 4, stacked chairs; 5, bureau (storing bibles); and, 6, a coat rail.

Box 6 **Formal Opening**

Box 6 Formal Opening contd.

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Box 6 Annotation

The Company of boys are initially lined up in height and rank order against the wall (.1). The command 'Markers take post' is issued from the Captain and the three boys who serve as markers for their squads march to the opposite side of the hall (.2), halt (.3) and about turn (.4) so they are now facing the rest of the Company. The Captain then issues the command 'Markers at two paces intervals outwards turn'. The marker nearest the Captain turns to his right, the two behind to their left (.5). The Captain continues 'To your squads, quick march'. The boy operating the camera comments 'This is hard'. The marker at the front stands still, the middle marker takes two paces then halts, the marker at the rear four paces then halts (.6). Once the rear marker has arrived at his place, both the middle and rear markers perform an about turn without being issued a command to do so (.7). The command 'Markers, stand at ease' is issued. On this occasion, the marker nearest the Captain fails to perform this so the command is repeated. This is followed by the Captain issuing the command 'Markers attention'. Again, the same marker does not do this correctly resulting in the command having to be re-issued (.8). Consequently, the boys of the Company who are lined up against the wall begin to laugh (.9) and the marker responsible remarks aloud 'he's putting me off', referring to the boy operating the camera who replies 'I can't help it, well, I can'. The laughter is quickly stopped by the Captain's stern delivery of the word 'Company'. The command 'Company, fall in' swiftly follows and the boys proceed to pass across the hall and form lines in height order beside their respective marker (.10). In the process, Squad Three's marker switches two boys who are in the wrong position. Once the boys are standing in the correct positions (.11), the Captain then issues the command 'Markers, to the front, quick march' and the three squad markers move from their squads (.12) to form a line marking time at the front of the hall (.13). The Captain issues the command 'Markers, halt' and they do so, quickly followed by the command 'Move to the right, right turn' (.14). The Captain then issues each marker with their squad's Roll Card. The command 'Markers, move to the right, right turn' (.15) is followed by 'To your squads, quick march' (.16). Once all the markers have returned to their positions they perform an about turn without being issued a command, thereby returning to their original aspect facing the Captain (.17). With the command 'Markers, roll call' each marker takes a pace forward and a left turn and begins to call the roll of, and collect the subscriptions from, the boys in their squad (.18). Boys are supposed to respond to their marker with the words 'Here Sir' when their name is called (indeed, the boy operating the camera says 'Here Sir' when his own name is called). Chatter and laughter ensues at this point, coins are dropped and feet shuffled (.19). After markers have completed their roll call and returned to their positions, the command 'Markers' is issued sternly as if to cease chatter. The command continues 'Markers, to the front, quick march' and the markers repeat the procedure that they conducted in order to collect their Roll Cards, marching to the front after being issued the command 'Markers, to the front, quick march' (.20), marking time, being brought to a halt with the command 'Markers, halt' and turning to the right after the Captain issuing the command 'Markers, move to the right, right turn'. At this point the boy operating the camera whispers the name of the marker nearest to him into the camera 'This is […]'. After giving their cards and subscription money collected to the Captain, markers are given the command 'To your squads, quick march' and they march (.21) to their previous positions (.22), as before performing a synchronised about turn without being commanded to do so (.23). After a slight pause (.24) the command 'Company stand at ease' is issued (.25), quickly followed by the command 'Company, attention' (.26). The boys of the Company are then instructed that 'When you're told to fall out, fall in tallest to the left, shortest to the right'. The command 'Company, Company, fall out' is finally issued and the boys turn to the right (.27) before moving from their positions and wandering (.28) into a line with the tallest boy on the left and the shortest on the right as instructed. The entire movement had taken 3 minutes, 45 seconds, during which the Captain has issued 25 commands.

CLASS WORK

Clearly, the specific use of these 15 minutes dictates the form of activity to follow. Ordinarily, prior to physical activity there is a period of class work lasting around 20-30 minutes. At this point in the programme it is normal to separate the older boys from the younger boys who had just joined the Company Section – so-called 'recruits' – with the former moving to the room upstairs and the latter remaining in the small hall. Purposefully shadowing the Captain, and with a particular interest in the specific 'mechanisms' serving to 'induct' new members into the Company Section, I stayed with the 'recruits' during their class work. The content of the classes for the older 'Company Boys' included Crime Prevention (Field Diary, 14/10/04), Fire Safety (Field Diary, 28/10/04) and First Aid (Field Diary, 23/09/04). Led by a single Officer these classes involve both discussion and more practical activity.

'Recruits', on the other hand, work their way through their *Boy Handbook* and then proceed to a series of more practical tasks (e.g., knot tying, drill, wayfaring) or practicing sports (e.g., badminton) that they would need to learn so that they could participate fully in squad competitions (Field Diary, 16/09/04). Their *Handbook* proves to be a constant reference point for these first few weeks. After it was first distributed, the Captain proceeded to discuss the Object and the history of the movement, 'ask[ing] me occasionally to fill in holes in his knowledge before remarking 'you should really be taking the class'' (Field Diary, 23/09/04). A few weeks later:

> Recruits stayed downstairs after fall-in and ran through the Object. [The Captain] said they would learn it from the head now but as they grew older they would learn it from the heart. [The Captain] stressed that the first bit was the most important then they took each of the words of the habits and explained their importance – apart from reverence. For Obedience [the Captain] said 'Company' and they all stood, but he used this to stress that Obedience to God was the key. They questioned whether Obedience was the same as Discipline, though another of the four recruits said that discipline was like going to BB when you get slagged for going, so it was about being good. Self-discipline was also stressed, drill as a component of discipline mentioned. Self-respect was linked to self-discipline and the uniform. The same boy who had spoken about discipline let us know that he laid out his uniform on a Thursday morning before school. [The Captain] said that this was because he had self-respect (Field Diary, 14/10/04).

Noteworthy is that this reading of the Object echoes the understanding that emerged in CHAPTER FIVE. Here again, however, when *practiced* the importance of the presence of God – within by being without – to whom 'ultimate' control is translated is crucial: 'Obedience to God [is] the key'. On another occasion, it was my research as a second outside 'presence' inside The BB Company that was woven into the discussion, demonstrating the Captain's ability to appropriate all resources at his disposal to communicate the Christian message;

[The Captain] began by making a point of my first line in their diaries saying 'I'm sure Mr. Kyle didn't write it like that by accident' referring to the 'everyday lives'[146] because, he went on to explain, 'The BB is a Christian organisation and as you move through hopefully you will see that being a Christian, should you decide to be one, runs through all aspects of your life'. We moved on to do a bit more of the *Handbook*: District and Battalion names were added and we discussed what the Target 1 Badge was going to cover up until Christmas (Field Diary, 28/10/04).

Although the content of the classes is entirely in the hands of the Officers leading the class, often drawing upon resources produced by The BB to aid their delivery, in an equally insightful remark the Captain shared his misgivings over the content of the Battalion's Christian Faith syllabus, highlighting that, despite dictates 'from above', the content of classes must be adapted 'on the ground' in light of local circumstances:

During the game [of football] [the Captain] expressed his concerns over the Battalion's Christian Faith syllabus and one class on 'loving forever' which appeared to stress that divorce was bad. He noted that, knowing his boys, or rather the background of some of his boys, he couldn't put this message across and he wondered where it had come from (Field Diary, 14/10/04)[147].

GAMES

Around 9:00pm each evening the boys move to a more relaxed period of physical activity. Teams are established, often by means of a simple numbering system: boys, lined up against the wall, had to shout one/two along the line and all the 'ones' were put in a team and in a similar way, the 'twos'. Notable was one occasion when they had 'lined up for Unihoc and they screwed up the numbering so they had to march round the hall once then they tried to renumber, this time successfully, one to 12, then, one, two, one, two, one, two, making two teams' (Field Diary, 09/09/04). Football is the other popular game played during this time (although often both were played during the half-hour or so). Despite the more formal use of drill on this occasion and the prior establishment of certain rules of the game on the first night of the session (e.g., 'a height limit [for the ball] is imposed and boys exceeding it are sent to a sin bin': Field Diary, 02/09/04), more often than not this period has an air of informality about it. For example, during that evening [the Captain] informed me that 'they're not meant to play football in the church hall, but the new minister had said 'it can be painted, let them play'' (Field Diary, 02/09/04), a fact leading to a richer understanding of an incident that followed a few weeks later:

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[146] Readers are reminded of the statement glued to the inside front cover of each of the boys diaries. The sentence to which the Captain is referring read as follows: 'One thing I'm interested in as part of my research is how the BB fits into your everyday lives' (see CHAPTER TWO).

[147] This hints towards another level of negotiation: Officers – situated in an institutional 'web of control' – must often align their practice with 'official' dictates. It should be noted, however, that Officers have a great degree of autonomy over the organisation of their BB Companies. Though guidance is offered, Officers seldom face disciplinary sanctions save for when their practice potentially threatens children's safety (e.g., they are not appointed as an Officer if a 'Disclosure Check' throws up any criminal misdemeanour making the applicant unsuitable for work with children, or, if this is discovered *after* appointment a currently serving Officer will be 'struck-off').

During football [the Captain] decided to wind up a boy about a mark on the wall above the height that the ball was allowed to be kicked, [the Captain] telling him that he had made the mark. [Another Officer] confided to me that it was there all along and [one boy] overhearing our conversation told the boy in question and they got their ball back to continue playing (Field Diary, 14/10/04).

The informality of this period is further ensured by the inclusion of a break for tuck shop, often around 9:15pm. During this period boys chat among themselves and with the Officers. Additionally, with the exception of the squad competition night (Field Diary, 07/10/04), the result of the football game does not contribute to any points tally. Occasionally, all or part of this time (usually either before or after the tuck shop break) is used by the Captain to speak to the NCOs on their own, often about their progress with their Queen's Badge (Field Diary, 02/09/04; 28/10/04).

The informality of this time also facilitates informal conversations with the boys across a range of subjects, most frequently football (Field Diary, 16/09/04), but also about my research. Indeed, on the first evening:

[One boy] said, 'you're new here'. I replied 'yes, from the uni', referring back to [the Captain]'s introduction earlier[148]. He asks what my name is (he obviously wasn't listening upstairs). I say 'Richard' then change it to say, 'well, Mr. Kyle' conforming to the practices of the Company. 'Well, let me introduce you to everyone' he says before going round the group 'that's [...], that's [...] etc...'. I thank [the boy] and the game of dodge ball starts. [The Captain] laughingly says, 'if you remember that!' I joke that there are plenty of [one particular name], three in all, so if I say that it'll have some effect (Field Diary, 02/09/04).

Thus it was largely through this time that observation became participation, not through my own actions but those of the boys themselves. Notwithstanding the fact I had been asked to assist with a game of dodge ball on my first night, by the third week I attended the Company:

After a while I was asked by the boys to stand and throw the ball in whenever a goal was scored. The game I 'refereed' finished 1-1; a diplomatic result. [The Captain] finished the game just in time (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

Similarly, another week, the circumstances were far beyond either my own or the boys' control:

During the time the boys had been given to get changed for PT [the Captain] was called to the door as the police had turned up. (Last Sunday a fire cracker or smoke bomb (there is debate over which) had been let off in the Guild room while the Youth Café was on and they were just checking everything was ok.) This effectively left me in charge, though [an NCO] assumed responsibility, telling them to stop running around and playing 'tig' once they were changed. Some of the boys when the police were there suddenly needed the toilet. I let a couple go but made it clear I knew exactly why they were going – to have a nosey – saying, 'I'm not daft' as they left. Just as I was in the process of

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[148] Recall previous discussion of the importance of introductions in CHAPTER TWO.

arranging a football game (i.e., the seven (!) boys had just headed upstairs to get goals) [the Captain] returned, lined them up and then had tuck shop (Field Diary, 23/09/04).

DISMISS

Following a period of around five minutes during which boys are required to get changed into their uniform, boys had to fall back into their squads as they had done at the start of the evening. The fall-in procedure is identical to that taking place earlier (see Box 7), but is often disrupted by the late arrival of boys who had not got changed quickly enough. They thereby lose their place in height order in their squad and attract verbal criticism; and on one occasion were removed from 'the parade floor', recalling earlier explication of the use of embarrassment in being out of place as a subtle tool used to regulate (future) behaviour (see CHAPTER SIX):

> The boys all fell back in, though Squad Two got a row for their uniform and [one boy] got a row for wearing his uniform messily. [Another Officer] in fact took him off the parade to stand at the side of the hall to sort it out (Field Diary, 16/09/04).

Like the period of formality at the start of the night, this closing element of formality has a distinct running order. Once the commands are issued and boys in place, the Captain proceeds to important announcements about forthcoming events. Interestingly, on the evening of one Squad Competition:

> We were running late tonight and didn't get formed up until twenty-to. The parade was flagged up and letters distributed and then the Squad marks announced: three won, two was last and one second. [The Captain] then was about to make another announcement to see if they were interested in a series of things he had been sent from the Battalion. Before [he] had even asked though, someone shouted 'no' so he just said ok and put them on the side and proceeded to say the prayer and then dismissed. Of course, he was met with protest about not telling them the announcement, the younger guys were told 'well, it's you're all together, someone let them down' and then looked through the stuff. The older ones were told to keep the young ones in control; 'get them sorted out'. [One NCO] on protesting was told that as time was pressing that's why he'd done it and they'd get them next week (Field Diary, 07/10/04).

Other weeks, they are reminded of the content of the Bible Class or guidance of a different nature is offered:

> As part of the intimations a Christian knowledge competition was mentioned and boys volunteered to take part. Boys were also asked if they were going out for Hallowe'en to remember what it was they were doing and what the day celebrates. They were also told to be careful with fireworks if they came into contact with them over the next week or so (though they were reminded too legally now they shouldn't) (Field Diary, 28/10/04).

Sometimes, it is their behaviour that comes in for comment at this time. On the week of the Captain's absence, another Officer made a point of informing the boys that the Captain would be told about their misbehaviour. Tellingly, he also made reference to the Object of the movement as a model of behaviour:

> Next it was a hockey game. Again the boys were 'messing around', a point highlighted by [an Officer] in the closing service saying he would be letting [the Captain] know. He also noted how they need to be quicker getting changed and smarten up, saying some showed no Obedience, Reverence, Discipline or Self-Respect (Field Diary, 30/09/04).

Similarly, a few weeks later the Officer who had made these remarks in the Captain's absence requested to see some boys about their standard of behaviour. Nonetheless, it is the Captain's own creation of himself as a sterner disciplinary figure that is most interesting:

> [An Officer] asked to see [three boys] before they left about their behaviour. [The Captain] said they were lucky as [the other Officer] had got there first before he did (Field Diary, 28/10/04).

In a way, then, a distinct form of 'pastoral power' plays through the *realisation* of this Company (see CHAPTER SIX). Alongside disciplinary technologies sits a form of emotional regulation of behaviour. Previously, embarrassment among peers emerged as a subtle device. Here, disappointment – letting down the Captain – functions as a more personal, pastoral, form of power. This resonates, of course, with Robinson's own reflections on the importance of 'power as friendship' (2000) as part of her broader focus on the '*relations* rather than on the *technologies* of power' (2000: 77; original emphasis). Though creating himself here as a disciplinary figure, the Captain is nonetheless embedded in relationships. Thus, transgressions, minor or otherwise, are not solely considered to be disruptions of disciplinary technologies – 'the system' – but also straining a personal relationship resulting in disappointment as a consequence.

A period of prayer follows these intimations, and each week this takes the same format. The Lord's Prayer is first said by all and then followed by a prayer from the Captain which, with the exception of the week in which a boy was asked to say the prayer (see BOX 7), was always: 'Lord, watch us as we go our various ways and bless each of the homes represented here. Amen' (Field Diary, 14/10/04). Following these prayers, the Company is dismissed: with the command 'Company, Dis-miss', the boys, Officers and Captain turn to their right, salute and paused for a few seconds before moving.

Having pieced together the field diary entries to create a 'typical' evening, discussion now attempts to approach this material in a more analytical fashion by adopting an acute attentiveness to the disciplinary practices and routines that secure the (unstable) accomplishment of this BB Company as a disciplinary space.

Box 7 Formal Closing

Box 7 Formal Closing contd.

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Box 7 Annotation

Having followed the same series of commands used during the formal opening of the evening earlier, the squads have taken their positions on the parade floor (.1). One Officer, one boy and one NCO are, however, absent. The Officer falls into place (.2), walking behind the rear squad to take his position to its right. *En route* he goes to speak to the NCO getting changed at the back of the hall (.3). During this time one boy poses the question why his group is so small. The Captain corrects his use of the word group to squad and then says to the boy 'I don't know, you tell me'. The boy proceeds to do so, with other boys joining in to assist him with his answer. At this point the boy operating the camera says aloud 'I'm videoing'. A few moments later he turns to me to comment 'It's actually been quite a peaceful night'. I respond, partly laughing, 'has it?'. At this point the boy takes his place in Squad 1 (.4). Just before he did so the boy beside him had been performing Michael Jackson dance moves, the camera operator saying aloud 'I'm going to film him doing that'. As the Officer falls into his position beside Squad Three, he comments 'right', the Captain repeating it (.5). A boy on the parade floor encourages the 'camera man' to zoom in and get a close-up of people's noses. The Captain shouts to the NCO at the back of the hall 'Come on [John]' (.6). The boy commenting on noses continues by informing the Captain that, while operating the camera earlier in the evening, he had got a close-up of the Captain's nose. Ignoring the comment the Captain shouts again '[John] hurry up'. Almost instantly after hearing this remark, a countdown from ten is started by the boys. They reach six before the Captain halts it by shouting 'Quiet'; five and four are heard fading out, only spoken by one boy. The Officer beside Squad Three, turned towards the rear of the hall, remarks 'we want to get home tonight' (.7). Another boy adds 'no, tomorrow'. At this the NCO marches from the rear of the hall (.8) to occupy a place at the left of his squad (.9); the camera operator commenting as he follows his march 'the lone soldier', while another hums the march from the Star Wars movies. The Captain then proceeds to announce the arrangements for the trip to the 10-pin bowling the following week (.10). During these announcements, Squad One are caught not paying attention and chatting. The Captain clicks his fingers on his right hand and shouts 'Squad One' (.11) and the camera operator zooms in briefly (.12). The announcements continue, during which a boy in Squad Three has taken off his shoes, prompting that squad's Officer to lean into the squad and tell him off (.13). A question is asked by a boy as he arrives early and so remarks that he should not be outside acting like a 'looney' like he was earlier on. The Captain replies 'exactly', the camera operator comments 'yep'. The Captain then asks a boy to ask his dad to come and see him. The boy asks 'why?' and the Captain replies slowly 'because I'm asking you to ask your dad to come and see me'. He then asks 'Any other questions?' before looking at his watch. A boy in Squad One asks: 'Are we doing the prayer?' before the Captain looks over towards him (.14), points at him (.15), takes a step to his right (.16) and points at the floor where he has just been (.17). The boy makes his way to the Captain's position smiling and saying 'oh aye!' (.18). With a further gesture, the Captain indicates he is to do the prayer (.19) and, after a brief chat (.20), the boy now standing in for the Captain instructs the other boys to remove their caps (.21) and place their cap in hand (.22) over their heart (.23) by saying '**Caps off**' before repeating, after being corrected by the Captain, '**Company, caps off**'. He begins; 'Thank you God for having us here...' before the Captain interrupts to remind him that he should start with the Lord's Prayer. He continues; 'Our Father...', boys, including the camera man, saying aloud 'who art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not in temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the Kingdom, the power and the glory forever. Amen.' The boy leading prayers adds; 'Thank you Lord for having us here tonight, take us all home safely until we come back next week. Amen.' The boy puts his cap back on and returns to his place. The other boys do likewise (.24); no command is given. Some chatter begins to break out before the Captain says sternly '**Company**' before pausing for a few seconds and commanding much more softly '**Company, dis-miss**' (.25). The boys, Captain and other Officers turn to their right (.26), salute (.27) and pause for a few seconds before moving (.28). Excluding the time taken to fall boys in, the period of formality recorded was 4 minutes and 34 seconds in length, during which time only two direct commands were issued, the first by a boy, the second, the Captain.

DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES

Shortly after the start of the first night of the session the Captain established two rules for Anchor Boys: 'the first, nobody is allowed on the stage; the second, if you need to go to the toilet you must ask permission to do so and (an adult) someone will go with you' (Field Diary, 02/09/04). Importantly, both rules established the boundaries of the space to be used during the course of the next session. They clearly demarcated 'no-go zones' of the hall (i.e., the stage and the toilets alone) and by implication asserted the authority of the adult Officers as those who enforce and are able to cross these boundaries. It was also on this first evening that other more subtle spatial geometries were established, most notably the aforementioned 'invisible line' behind which Anchor Boys sat in their groups (see above). These rules were actively reasserted when these boundaries were transgressed:

> During the last game a second boy left for the toilet without supervision and [the Captain] took the opportunity while they were in groups to go over the rules. 'Who can remember the rules?' he asked. Don't go on the stage came out, but so too did 'no fighting' and 'no talking when I'm talking', [the Captain] replying that 'that's next week's rule' (Field Diary, 05/10/04).

With the spatial arena of behaviour contained by these micro-geographies, further disciplinary technologies governing appropriate behaviour were enacted. Although on occasion reference was made to an ideal code of behaviour enshrined in the Object (see above), more often it was the behaviour of another individual that Officers set as an example to be emulated. In the Anchor Boys 'leading boys' were identified and encouraged to set an example to others (Field Diary, 23/09/04; 07/10/04). For example, one week 'the behaviour of group one's leading boy was commented upon. It was not what was expected of a leading boy as they are meant to be setting an example' (Field Diary, 16/09/04). By Company Section this concept was taken further through the promotion of NCOs with direct responsibility for a squad of boys (see CHAPTER SIX; and especially the comments above directed to NCOs in the week when the reading of announcements was abandoned). Over the session NCOs were repeatedly reminded of these responsibilities, not only while attending the Company Section itself (see above, Field Diary, 23/09/04) but also while participating in the Anchor Boys earlier in the evening by, for example, being told on one occasion they were not 'setting a good example by chewing gum' (Field Diary, 23/09/04). Similarly, even the most cursory of glances reveals other familiar disciplines in action in this Company: competition is established as a mechanism of fostering teamwork and is subtly controlled in both Anchor Boys and Company Section through the Captain's surreptitious glances in the former and balanced squad selection in the latter (see above), with checks on celebration (e.g., the discouragement of victory dancing) ensuring that competition never gets 'out of hand'; relational distance is established though distinct forms of address depending on the activity and finds spatial expression in the periods of formality at the start and end of the evening; and lateness is penalised by a loss of position and removal from the parade floor (see CHAPTER SIX).

It is not difficult, then, to find in the minutiae of the operation of this Company a unique expression of the technologies of self-discipline explicated in the previous chapter, but, that chapter also argued for analysis attuned to the concept of a gestalt: the package of disciplinary technologies considered *in toto*. Consequently, discussion now turns to fill this presently empty concept though a re-consideration of routine, a manoeuvre that allows the disciplinary space to be viewed as a whole but emphasises the negotiated nature of the components leading to its accomplishment. In order to do so, some reflection must be offered on the process of accomplishing the research itself.

ROUTINE

Over successive weeks an interesting shift occurred in my field diary. Gradually entries became not insightful solely for their descriptions of 'events previously unseen' but for the way in which I described the repetition of that which had already been witnessed. During the period of observation prior to the beginning of research activities on October 28th 2004, the words 'usual' appeared with increasing frequency to refer to activities, often with little detail other than variation noted; prayers were referred to simply by the Captain's name (e.g., 'Lord's Prayer then [John]'s Prayer' (Field Diary, 14/10/04); and indeed, at one point I penned in my initial notes hastily written on the train journey home 'It's almost becoming a routine!' (Field Diary, 14/10/04)[149]. It is perhaps more interesting to note that this moment marked the end of the formal period of observation and the point at which more active participation started through the introduction of the series of research activities, the commencement of which I had previously decided would happen purely when I sensed it was appropriate to do so, being under no external pressures of time. Following further reflection, however, I began to realise that routine was far more important to the accomplishment of the Company than I had previously considered, and particularly the idea of setting of a routine, the following of a routine and, especially, the breaking from routine.

Put simply, a routine is the repetition of an activity, usually at the same time with the same frequency. In this case an ordered series of activities is established by adult Officers and repeated each Thursday evening between 6:30pm and 9:45pm. Indeed, in a very real sense, the BB Company is nothing *but* its routines in time and space. Moreover, progression through this set of activities leads to the desired accomplishment of this BB Company. Yet, this repetition also establishes a shared understanding of this desired accomplishment. Boys are aware of what happens first and what usually follows (e.g., witness the Anchor Boy who requested a video about Jesus). Yet, it is only with their compliance that the routine is followed. The Company is always, then, a negotiated accomplishment. Boys can, if they wish, slow or even halt proceedings through minor disruptions (e.g., the Anchor Boys' toilet breaks). And adults can deploy (disciplinary) techniques to hasten the evening along or to steer it 'back on track' to ensure that the desired

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[149] Interestingly, the next and final line of this entry was a reflection on the practice of observation in light of the awareness that a routine had been established: 'So, am I as eagle eyed, or sharp sensed, as I once was?' (Field Diary, 14/10/04). The implication of this statement is clearly that routine serves to dull the senses – i.e., it becomes taken for granted that a certain activity will always happen – and that consequently this closes down lines of *critical* reflection; I only seeing *breaks* from routine rather than the workings of the routine itself.

accomplishment results (e.g., the Captain looking at his watch in Anchor Boys or the decision not to read the announcements at the end of one Company Section meeting night). Similarly, in discussion with Company Section boys, it was discovered that they will tolerate elements of the programme in the knowledge of 'what comes next', with some openly stating that they 'cherry pick' activities and 'only come for the games' (Field Diary, 25/11/04). The setting of a routine allows both Officers and boys, each with their own agenda, to move through the evening with a shared sense of what *should* be done, but always aware that either has the potential to disrupt this routine.

There is, however, a wider point to be made here. Although strikingly obvious, the breaking from routine cannot occur without initially establishing routine. Yet, it is only in breaking from this routine that the boys are allowed actually to *take* control in an arena where the actor 'in charge' is identified through a variety of spatial and non-spatial cues (e.g., in occupying a place in front of boys in the former case, in the wearing of different uniform or setting the routine in the latter). Notwithstanding the fact that there are always markers of those 'in charge', regardless of the degree of formality associated with the youth work setting, the presence of routine makes the possibility of adults losing control less opaque. Put another way, it is structure that opens up the gaps for resistance and the possibility that acts of resistance can be identified precisely as such. Without structure, time cannot be captured nor space momentarily seized, but it also opens up the scope for the sanctioning of these *licensed* acts of resistance as themselves part of a wider learning process[150]. It is in these gaps, as in the activities themselves, that youth *work* is arguably achieved:

> Structured youth work has many meanings. It is not just about organised activities and explicitly outlined programmes of intervention. Politicians and managers may deride the fact, but structured youth work often remains firmly located in the head of the practitioner, who should be adept at milking the learning opportunities from often unexpected and sometimes apparently disorganised moments (Williamson, 2005).

At least, this is the view from above; an Officers' eye perspective. From below, boys are arguably always 'taking control' in their compliance *with* the routine. Moreover, frequently filing 'adult' roles – as NCOs or even an *ad hoc* delivery of a closing prayer – serves in practice to unsettle conceptions of control and consent, stressing that the spaces of The BB Company are always brought into being as a shared accomplishment, through the negotiation of the routine without which, as hinted towards earlier, it does not exist.

I momentarily depart from these ideas, returning to them when drawing conclusions to this thesis, for I wish to add depth to them by considering further this process of negotiation through reflecting on two impromptu interventions that the introduction of video technology brought to the research setting.

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[150] This terminology is used here purposefully as a direct 'nod' back to Goffman's sketches of the 'geographies of license' within 'total', and arguably, 'partial' institutional spaces (see CHAPTER ONE). Here, such sanctioned disruptions have both disciplinary and developmental ends.

SUMMARY

Inspired by discussion of the imagery of a BB Captain, key in hand, unlocking the door of the Company's meeting place and opening too the possibility that their plans for the evening will be disrupted, this chapter wove together from the strands of field diary entries – together with boys' drawings and video footage – a 'typical' evening in the Company observed over the course of a session. Touching base with elements of the disciplinary 'system' explicated in the previous couplet, the chapter then teased out from the detail of the descriptions the disciplinary practices found in the minutiae of the Company's operation which led to its successful accomplishment (again and again). Following a pause for reflection on the practice of accomplishing this period of research itself, the importance of the repetition of a routine was drawn out as a key element in the creation of a disciplinary space tied up with an ongoing process of negotiation. Crucially, the chapter closed by introducing a notion that will be carried forward: that this structure is vital in facilitating resistance, allowing gaps to open up in which youth work is conducted.

WAYPOINT

>> CHAPTER EIGHT turns the focus from transparency to opacity. Weaving together two moments in the research process when the camera introduced to the research setting was switched off, a critique of the structured nature of The BB Company is launched: structure mitigates against the creation of truly safe spaces of spiritual exploration in which both young people *and* adults – journeying together – can question their Christian faith.

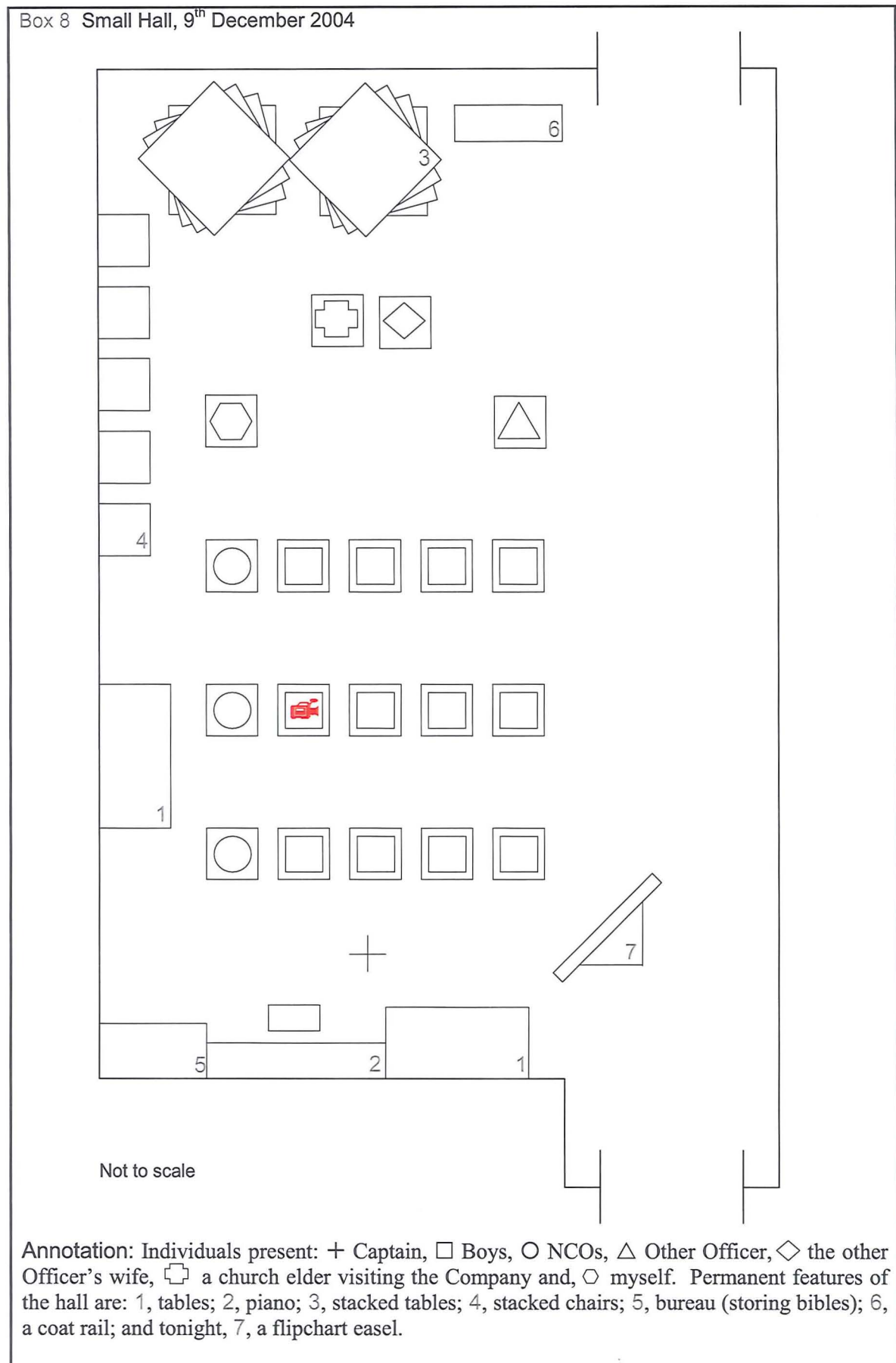OPAQUE EXPLORATIONS: LEARNING LESSONS FROM TWO IMPROMPTU INTERVENTIONS

[U]sing video makes the gaze explicit within a research process. It highlights the relationship between researcher/researched, observer/observed, drawing attention to who is in control of the viewing technology, what is being framed and how the images are being produced or represented (Kindon, 2003: 146).

Deployed as part of a wider manoeuvre to democratise the research process and destabilise the researcher/researched relationship thus far established, 16 weeks after research in the Company began, on Thursday 9th December 2004 a handheld digital video camera was given to the boys with the open remit to record what they wanted others to see of the 'happenings' of their meeting night; to capture on camera something of the 'typical' essence of their Company. Research was to be 'handed over' to the boys by equipping them with the technology to record their performances within *their* space as they saw fit.

In theory this was a noble aim. And one born out being seduced by the possibilities of a non-representational approach centring on the creation of the 'here and now' space of the BB Company *through* the performances of its 'actants' (see Thrift, 1996; 1997; and 2000 theme issue of *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* Vol. 18, No. 4, 5). In practice it proved naïve, neglecting to grasp adequately the potential of 'reflexive approaches to the visual in ethnography' (Pink, 2001: 4), and the visual itself, *as a form of representation*. Echoing Kindon's assertion that 'there is no unmediated image' (2003: 149), failing to recognise that through the introduction of the video camera 'there is no unmediated performance' is as serious an error as those of past visual approaches 'and analys[e]s working within a largely unmediated realist frame [...]' (Edwards, 1997: 53 quoted in Pink, 2001: 3). Moreover, it fails to embrace the full potential for 'engaging with the visual not simply as a mode of recording data or illustrating text, but as a medium through which new knowledge and critiques may be created' (Pink, 2001: 11).

Thus, what became most revealing on close 'reading' of the resulting video of the evening in question was not the manner of the boys' representation (of their performative creation) of their space. Rather, it is through two serendipitous 'switchings off' of the camera that most usefully throw into relief ownership of the technology. Embracing these chance disruptions of the research

process, this chapter uses these interventions as both building blocks to construct new knowledge and a platform from which to offer critique. Each is introduced in turn.

Box 8 Small Hall, 9th December 2004

Not to scale

Annotation: Individuals present: + Captain, □ Boys, ○ NCOs, △ Other Officer, ◇ the other Officer's wife, ⊡ a church elder visiting the Company and, ○ myself. Permanent features of the hall are: 1, tables; 2, piano; 3, stacked tables; 4, stacked chairs; 5, bureau (storing bibles); 6, a coat rail; and tonight, 7, a flipchart easel.

## INTERVENTION 1: 'PUT THAT OFF JUST NOW A MINUTE PLEASE WILL YOU'

Recording of the evening began during Bible Class. A boy was selected by the Captain[151] to serve as the camera operator and, taking his place in the second seat from the left in the middle row of chairs (see Box 8), he began to film the class. On this evening a flip chart easel had been set up in the corner of the room (Box 9.1). The Captain proceeded to ask the boys what they would need for a surprise party, and, filtering out their responses, began to construct a list on the flip-chart pad, turning his back as he did so. Almost inevitably the boys began to 'mess around' behind his back turning to the camera and pulling faces (.2) or leaving their seats to be filmed (.3). At this the camera operator himself attempted to regulate their behaviour; 'you do realise that we're going to watch this after it' (.4). It had little effect and the 'messing around' continued until something (.3) caught the Captain's eye and he enquired 'Who did that?' (.5). An NCO supplied him with the name of the boy concerned (.6), and the Captain, walking towards him, marker pen in hand (.7), reprimanded him:

> [Peter] we were thinking you could maybe use it for the second half of the night but that has gone. Forget it (.8).

After only 51 seconds control over the video camera had been established. Indeed, in this instance discipline was effected through the object introduced into the research setting; discipline itself had been mediated. And this raises a series of (unanswerable) questions: did the Captain ever intend 'Peter' to use the camera? Has the Captain here appropriated the camera as an obvious – yet unique – presence in the Company to ensure the class runs smoothly? Or, put another way, does the Captain use the object at his disposal to prevent further disruptions by making this boy serve as an example to others and so, consequently, *all* of the boys learn an important lesson: operating the camera is a privilege granted by the Captain, not a right[152].

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[151] It should be noted that the Captain also asked me if I had a preference as to which boy used the camera. I said that I did not but that maybe one of the younger 'recruits' could use it. The Captain then selected the first camera operator. This boy was not a 'recruit' but neither was he an NCO. Noteworthy is that the boys whom I had identified as the most disruptive over previous weeks were not selected, though this is not to suggest that the camera operator never got into trouble during my time with the Company. Crucially, of course, through the *selection* of a camera operator (rather than, say, the boys deciding amongst themselves who would use it [which admittedly did also happen as the evening proceeded]) possibilities for subversion are already limited.

[152] It would be remiss at this juncture not to at least knowledge my own place – as researcher – in this setting. Clearly, the events documented here were brought about by my own intervention into the space of this BB Company: the camera is as much my tool as it is (once appropriated) that of the Captain.

Box 9 Bible Class, 9th December 2004
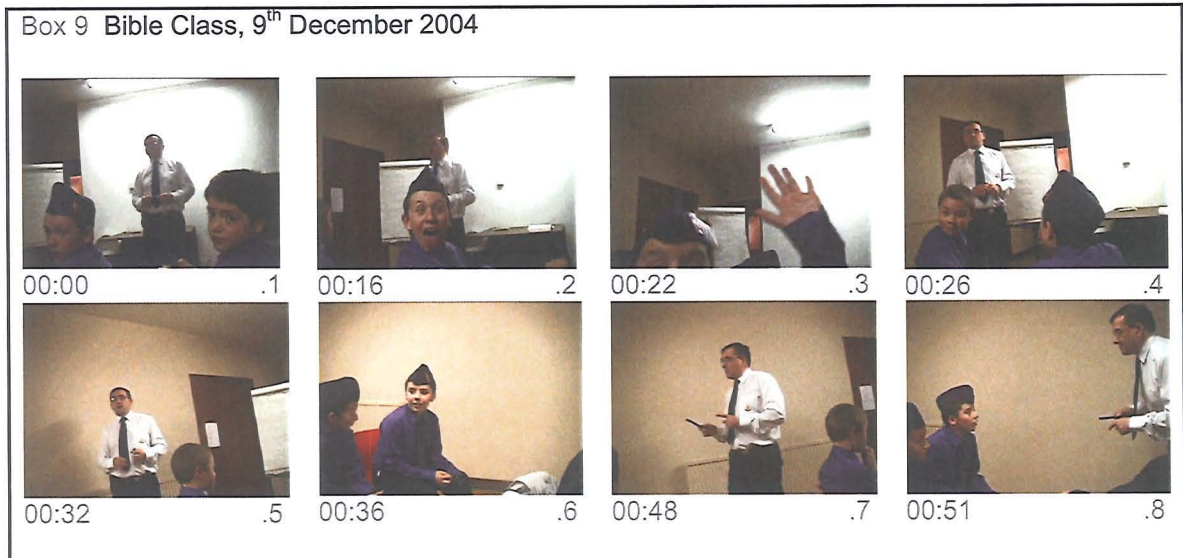
The lesson continued, occasionally disrupted by boys' requests for the camera operator to focus on them. Noise eventually escalated to the point where an NCO took it upon himself to shout 'quieten down boys' before repeatedly saying 'quiet', imitated by the others as he did so. Finally, the Captain's pseudo-instruction 'too much noise!' returned the noise level to that of occasional murmurings.

After asking the boys 'who doesn't know about a surprise party?' and (eventually) obtaining the answer 'the person having the party', the Captain proceeded to recount a story; the intimation of the impending tale serving as a cue for an NCO to encourage boys to 'pay attention'. Before the Captain had uttered the first word, however, the camera operator commented, 'I've heard this one. You told us this one last year'. A conversation followed with one boy asking the others 'who here has heard this before?'. The Captain eventually concluded that it was good that at least one person was listening and continued to tell the story of a father who was planning a surprise party for his son and decided to hold it in a hall which could hold a maximum of 200 people. He wrote the invitations and issued the tickets and on the night in question 200 people were packed into the hall. The boy arrived and was not allowed in, the hall being full. Here, however, the content of the story is not as important as the happenings during its telling.

After almost seven minutes of filming the boy told he would not operate the camera earlier was sent to the back right corner of the room (.9), a second was directed (.10) to sit at the piano to the Captain's left (.12) and a third was instructed to leave the room (.11). A few minutes later, as the camera panned round to record a boy's answer to the Captain's question of whether the situation faced by the boy in the story was fair, the boy at the back of the hall was caught dancing in the corner, something he had been doing each time the camera turned to the rear of the room since being sent there (.13). Clearly also catching sight of this, the Captain posed a question of the boy: '[Peter] do you want to go home?' (.14) before adding 'Put that off just now a minute please will you' (.15). At 9 minutes and 27 seconds, the camera operator obliged and switched off the camera. Control over the camera established previously was reinforced through the Captain's

practice here. Off-camera the boy faced a reprimand for his behaviour, and the camera was only turned on again after this had been delivered (.16)[153].

Yet, here again, the Captain's actions prompt further reflection. The Captain, conscious of the camera's presence, clearly felt it inappropriate for this reprimand to appear on camera. He was therefore not only in control of the camera as an object (e.g., in deciding who can operate it) but was also subtly editing the boys' representation of their space. The moment serves, much like the establishment of rules governing the spatial arena of behaviour in Anchor Boys (see CHAPTER SEVEN), as a means to reinforce a notion of appropriate behaviour; i.e., that which is deemed suitable to appear 'on camera'. Boundaries were here established and the camera served forcefully to spotlight their transgression, through which, ultimately, they were actively reinforced[154].

Box 9 Bible Class Contd.

06:49 .9 06:50 .10 06:53 .11 06:54 .12

09:04 .13 09:25 .14 09:26 .15 09:27 .16
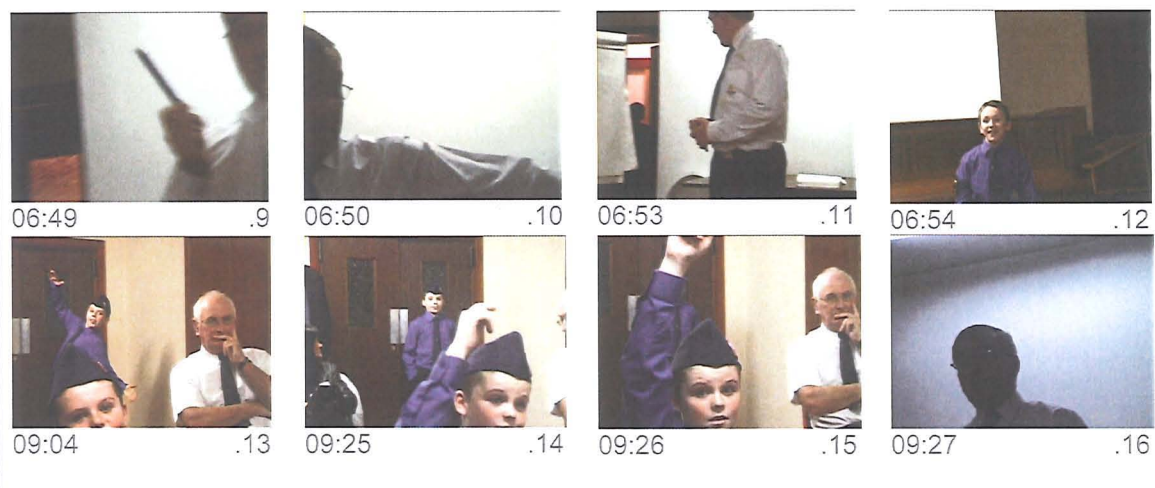
More interesting still are events that occurred less than a minute later. At 9 minutes 54 seconds on the camera's counter, the camera was switched off a second time, but, no prompt had been given by the Captain. Instead, he walked out the room to speak to the boy outside (.17), and on seeing this the camera operator turned off the camera (.18). The boundaries of what it is acceptable to film had evidently been internalised; the camera operator consciously (?) accepting the Captain's 'edit' of their representation.

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[153] It is interesting to note that this incident was not spoken about again by the Captain either to me or the boys. Thus, though it was to an extent 'my fault' by introducing the camera that the events transpired the way they did I was never 'blamed' for this occurrence. In part, this is undoubtedly down to the enthusiasm this Captain frequently demonstrated towards both the research process and his boys. The Captain could conceivably have requested that the camera was no longer used after this point, he having as much right to withdraw from the research process as the boys. His choice not to do so, perhaps, evidences that he did not solely see the camera as a research tool but also an opportunity to provide the boys with a different activity from which they could gain enjoyment.

[154] Undoubtedly there is another reading of this action as one of impression management. The Captain, conscious of the camera's presence may be subtly censoring his representation of himself. Indeed, this hints towards a wider point that reader's impression of this individual is perhaps shaped solely by his actions during this incident and other excerpts selected for inclusion in the thesis. Thus, the reader is encouraged to draw their own impression through careful reading of this and the previous chapter of the couplet. Of course, this hints towards earlier methodological concerns surrounding the problem of ekphrasis and, moreover, spotlights the importance of acknowledging the attentional frame through which I view and have structured the reader's view of this individual. It should be noted though, this relationship initially established as a research relationship endures as a friendship.

The class continued, the camera went back on (.19), and the Captain proceeded to explain the point of the story; a message not lost on one boy who remarked at Christmas that we celebrate 'Jesus being born but we forget about him'. The Captain reinforced the point by posing a final question: 'What do we celebrate at Christmas?' Following the boys' response 'Jesus' birth' he added 'but you're not inviting him to his own party'. His parting comment 14 minutes and 20 seconds after the class began: 'Don't forget what Christmas is about' (.20).

Box 9 Bible Class Contd.

| 09:53 | .17 | 09:54 | .18 | 09:55 | .19 | 14:20 | .20 |

INTERVENTION 2: 'WHAT IF HE PUTS IT ON THE INTERNET?'

If the first intervention served to highlight that control over both the camera and the representation of their space did not lie with the boys, the second spotlights the fact that ownership is not theirs either. Following a final game of football, boys were asked to change back into uniform for the formal close of the evening (see CHAPTER SEVEN, BOX 7). During this time the camera was on for barely two minutes. After filming a conversation between two boys in which they imitated mafia 'bosses' with liquorice sticks from the tuck shop serving as cigars, the camera operator followed a boy to the top of the hall. The boy clearly demonstrated discomfort at being on camera, but when the operator became aware of a boy who, having taken off his t-shirt and decided to perform a dance before putting on his uniform shirt, became the alternative focus of the camera's attention. Laughter followed until suddenly the boy dancing came to a realisation: 'Oh no. I just thought of something there. What if he puts it on the internet?' Immediately, the camera was switched off.

In this moment the fact that the boys do not own either the camera itself or the images that it records was forcefully highlighted. And in the same moment the researcher/researched relationship is firmly re-established and distrust of the former foregrounded. By introducing the camera the gaze had indeed been made explicit (Kindon, 2003: 146), and specifically, it is *my* gaze as something which potentially compromises these boys' personal safety after the research encounter.

FROM 'NEW KNOWLEDGE' TOWARDS NEW CRITIQUE

Both of these interventions, in their own way, offer insight into the creation of the disciplinary space of this BB Company. In the case of the first, depth is added to the emerging understanding of the negotiated nature of the accomplishment, and, especially, the active re-assertion of the authority *of* the Captain and control over the spacings and timings – the structure – of the Company

by the Captain (here through his *ad hoc* appropriation of the video camera). Moreover, we gain further glimpses into the incorporation of NCOs into the disciplinary matrix (see also VIGNETTE THREE) and the re-establishment of the boundaries of acceptable behaviour through their transgression (see CHAPTER SEVEN). The second intervention not only highlights the limits of trust established in the research setting, it also spotlights the boys' ever-present fears surrounding their personal safety, and particular anxieties about the potentially inappropriate use of their image.

Perhaps these findings speak most to methodological concerns over the use of techniques designed to be participatory in research settings with pre-existing imbalanced power relations (or those in which such imbalances are unwittingly introduced through the researcher's presence). It is contended, however, that woven together, these two interventions also provide a potent critique of the perceived function of the constructed disciplinary space of a BB Company, as teased out in the previous couplet: to create a space to explore the Christian faith. Through a detailed examination of the issue of safety raised by the second intervention, the limits of what can be achieved during Bible class, spotlighted in the first, are approached. It is, then, a critique that takes as its starting point the issue of personal safety, and particularly the perceived limits of both boys' freedom of action and expression. In order to advance the argument, however, the lens of analysis must widen from the Company itself to the community context in which it is situated, an exercise which leads us to rewind six weeks in the research process to the first participatory activities conducted with the boys.

PARTICIPATORY METHODS: DIARIES, 'MAPS' AND RADAR PLOTS

The distribution of diaries to boys on 28th October 2004 was the first stage of a four-week exercise which, through a series of activities, attempted to discover how The BB, as one of the many places frequented by boys during the week slotted into their everyday social geographies. The next week boys were presented with an A1 size sheet of white paper and encouraged, with the marker pens provided to sketch onto the page the places they had been during that week. The diaries themselves were designed to be a prompt for this exercise (see CHAPTER SEVEN). After the places themselves had been 'written' onto the page boys were encouraged to add some details about what they liked or disliked about them. Almost inevitably, and within a matter of minutes, the boys, crowded on all sides of the table, had turned the white page into a colourful canvas 'mapping' their collective social geography. Closer scrutiny of this page enabled seven 'activityspaces' to be teased out: BB, school, home, fast food restaurants, 'walking about' (the street), youth fellowship, and 'after care' (an after school club). These were supplemented by a further seven which appeared in the returned diaries: music practice, friend's house, shopping, visiting family, church, football training, and (paid) work (e.g., newspaper rounds). The following week (11th November 2004) a questionnaire was issued to the 12 boys present. It contained 11 statements[155] and asked boys to agree or

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[155] This activity was introduced as follows: 'From the activity we did as a group last week and the individual diaries that were completed and handed back I have made a list of all the places you go during a typical week. This week, I'd like

disagree with that statement for each of the 14 places listed. Clearly, some boys did not attend all 14 places and so were asked if that was the case not to tick the 'agree' or 'disagree' box. Inevitably too, despite the fact that only the agree or disagree options were presented, some boys decided on a middle option, neither agreeing nor disagreeing, or added a 'don't know'. These two facts: i) that not all boys attended all places; and, ii) that the simple agree/disagree system had been adapted, posed a challenge for analysis. In the interests of accurate comparison only those six places that all 12 boys attended are included in these findings. Moreover, to ensure that the boys' adaptation of the research tool is reflected in analysis, a 'scoring system' was applied. If a boy agreed with the statement, ten points were applied to its 'score'. If boys disagreed, a score of zero was applied. If the boy noted 'don't know', in order to ensure the accuracy of the agreement score, no score was awarded. If their tick fell between the boxes on the original 'questionnaire', five points were added. Thus, the maximum agreement score any statement could receive was 120 (i.e., all 12 boys agreeing for that place). Radar plots have been used as a visual vehicle for the presentation of the findings from this research activity (see Graph 3). These plots not only enable easy comparison of one place across various statements but also comparison of the similarity and dissimilarity of *all* places across the statements by considering the 'openness' or otherwise of each plot. In addition, to aid interpretation of these results the scores have been included and the places ranked to the right of each radar.

Following initial analysis, the next week boys were presented with preliminary findings in the form of bar charts and an open discussion was held about some of the interesting features of the data identified in the intervening week. Before turning to examine these statements in more detail, I wish first to reflect further on the 'map' produced at the start of the exercise (see Plate 19).

SKETCHING EVERYDAY SOCIAL GEOGRAPHIES

The main reason for the adoption of a group mapping exercise rather than an individual activity was that it facilitated the observation of the interaction between the boys as they sketched. Moreover, it opened up the possibility that something written or sketched by one boy could be argued over or, even, altered by another. The exercise was therefore about more than just creating a list of places visited and, indeed, it is only in looking beyond this initial purpose that the 'map' becomes most revealing.

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you to try and think about what you feel about these places. On each of the following pages there is a table showing the places we listed last week. At the top of each page there is a statement. All I want you to do is to read the statement and then think about whether you agree or disagree with it for each place. For example, the first statement is 'I enjoy spending time here'. So, if you enjoy spending time at school you would tick agree, if you didn't you would disagree with the statement and so tick disagree'. It should also be noted that after reflection the original statement three 'I can do what I like here' was omitted from analysis due to the potential ambiguity over the reception of the term 'like' by the audience as substitute for either enjoy or please.

Plate 19 Company Section boys' sketch of their everyday social geographies

Almost immediately after the initial instructions had been issued they were adapted; likes and dislikes quickly became loves and hates. And while some of these responses are unconnected with the places identified (e.g., 'I hate Christmas dinner' (Plate 20.1), 'I love fireworks', or 'I hate bees and wasps') most of the feelings noted are bound to the particular places 'mapped' (e.g., fast food restaurants are praised for the quality of their food, but criticised for their poor service; the warm-up at football training hated, but the game itself loved). Of more interest to the present study, however, are the feelings associated with The BB (.2). Here, it is particular aspects of the

programme which are remarked upon (e.g., it is frequently noted that drill is hated and P.E. loved [.3]). Similarly, at school the activities too come in for comment: 'I love tech', 'I hate French', 'Maths is rubbish', or 'School: Like P.E., don't like everything else'[156]. More often, though, it is the teachers themselves who are written about, and frequently become the subject of boys' hate (and recall boys' reaction to the dart-throwing Bible class activity; see CHAPTER SEVEN). A Home Economics teacher, the unfortunate Mrs Burrows' caricature is drawn with a knife flying towards her head by one boy and this and her name are subsequently scribbled out in red pen by another (.4). Mrs Taylor is similarly erased (.5) (though Mrs Copland is spared a violent pictorial character assassination [.6]). Moreover, discussion revealed that the almost crazed female figure under the 'After Care' sketch reflected the hatred expressed by the six boys who attended this towards the teacher in charge of the after school club (.7). It would, however, be disingenuous to suggest that all teachers are hated. Mr McGuiness is 'liked' by one boy (but even here his comments are followed by his dislike of another teacher, Mrs Morrison). Indeed, though not subsequently discussed with boys, perhaps there is a distinct 'gender politics' also playing through this sketch: the only teacher who is positively commented upon by the all-male group is *Mr.* McGuiness.

Actively overhearing discussions during this exercise revealed that relationships with people in these places are crucial; and here school emerged as somewhere unique in that no other place added to this sketch boasts people associated with it. Furthermore, with the exception of two boys who scribbled their own name onto the sheet, the only names written are those who are in positions of 'authority'; both peers and their BB Officers are notably absent. Notwithstanding the fact that the latter 'silence' may be a micro-political calculation on the part of the boys, knowing that the Captain and other Officers may look at their 'map', the crucial finding of this activity, the importance of relationships – particularly connected to a sense of safety – was reinforced through the following exercise on the feelings associated with each place, as well as in subsequent discussion of this activity with boys.

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[156] Given the nature of the community most boys attended the same Primary School and Secondary School. Frequently, 'folklore' surrounding the school was recounted in the period just prior to Bible Class commencing (see CHAPTER SEVEN).
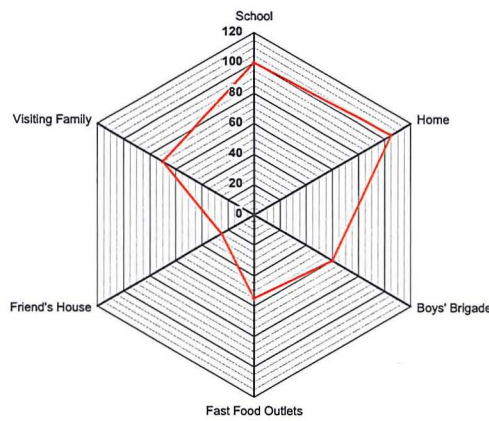
Graph 3 Radar Plots
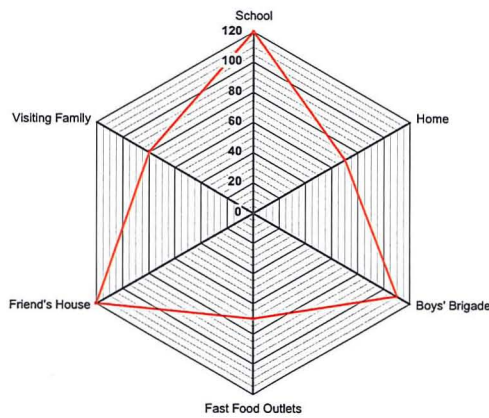
.1 I enjoy spending time here.
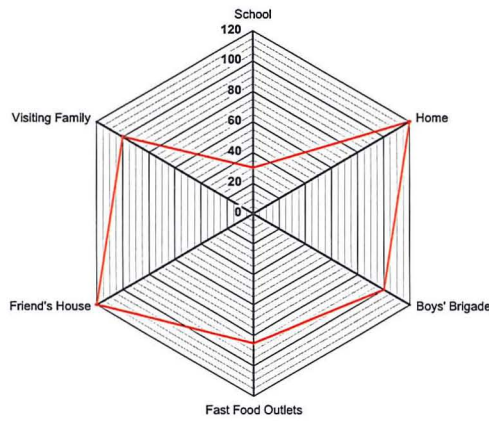
1=	Home	120
1=	Friend's House	120
3=	**Boys' Brigade**	**100**
3=	Visiting Family	100
5	Fast Food Outlet	85
6	School	30

.2 I go here because I have to.

1	Home	105
2	School	100
3	Visiting Family	70
4	**Boys' Brigade**	**60**
5	Fast Food Outlet	55
6	Friend's House	25

.3 I have friends here.

1=	School	120
1=	Friend's House	120
3	**Boys' Brigade**	**110**
4	Visiting Family	80
5=	Home	70
5=	Fast Food Outlet	70

Graph 3 Contd.

.4 I like the people here.
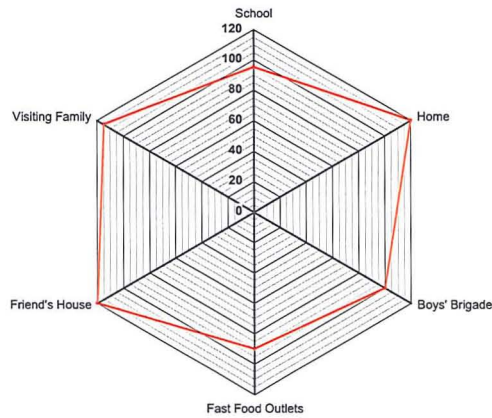
1=	Home	120
1=	Friend's House	120
3	Visiting Family	115
4	**Boys' Brigade**	**100**
5	School	95
6	Fast Food Outlet	90

.5 I get told what to do here.
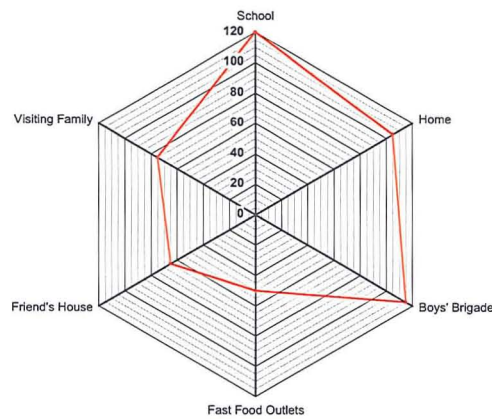
1	School	120
2	**Boys' Brigade**	**115**
3	Home	105
4	Visiting Family	75
5	Friend's House	65
6	Fast Food Outlet	50

.6 I feel safe here.
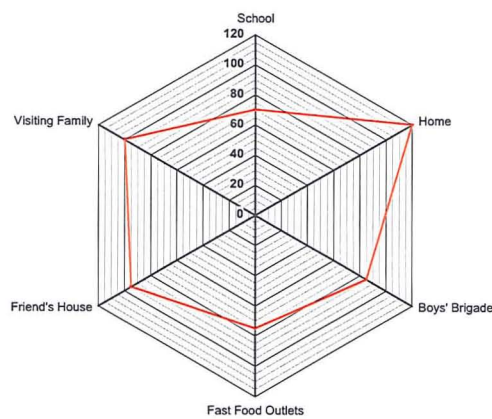
1	Home	120
2	Visiting Family	100
3	Friend's House	95
4	**Boys' Brigade**	**85**
5	Fast Food Outlet	75
6	School	70

Graph 3 Contd.

.7 I can decide what I do here.
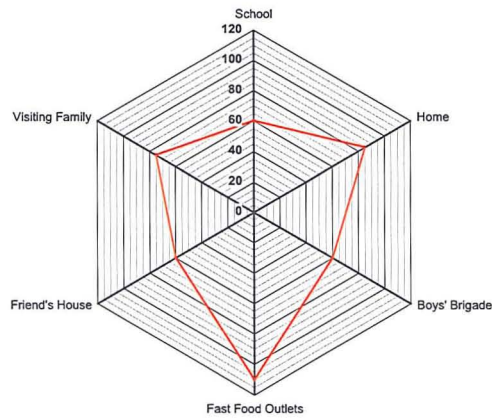
1	Fast Food Outlet	110
2	Home	85
3	Visiting Family	75
4=	School	60
4=	**Boys' Brigade**	**60**
4=	Friend's House	60

.8 I learn something here.
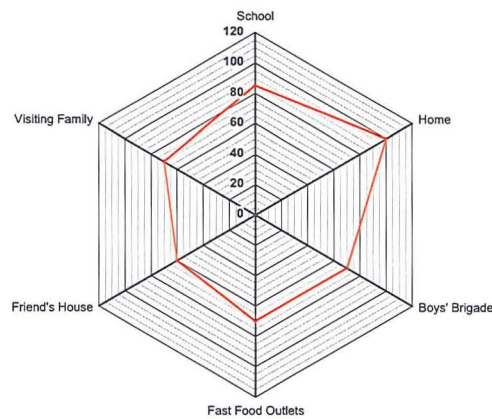
1	Home	100
2	School	85
3=	**Boys' Brigade**	**70**
3=	Fast Food Outlet	70
3=	Visiting Family	70
6	Friend's House	60

.9 I feel I can say what I think here.
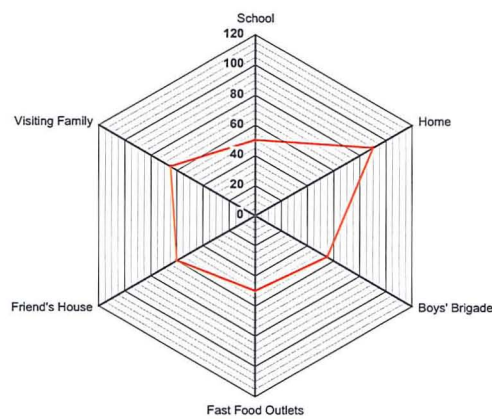
1	Home	90
2	Visiting Family	65
3	Friend's House	60
4	**Boys' Brigade**	**55**
5=	School	50
5=	Fast Food Outlet	50

Graph 3 **Contd.**

.10 I feel I belong here.

1	Home	95
2	Visiting Family	90
3	Fast Food Outlet	65
4	**Boys' Brigade**	**60**
5	Friend's House	55
6	School	30
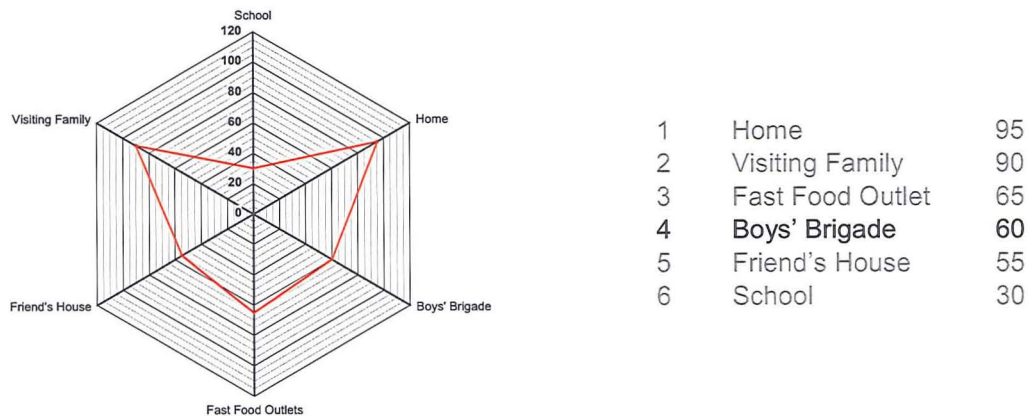
STATING THE OBVIOUS?

Through their responses to ten statements, boys were encouraged to reflect upon various dimensions of the spaces that they frequent (e.g., the level of enjoyment experienced in each, 'I enjoy spending time here'; the degree to which their participation was voluntary, 'I go here because I have to'; the freedom of action afforded to them, 'I get told what to do here'; or the level of perceived safety associated with the space, 'I feel safe here'). Although analysis of this information prompted almost as many questions as it provided answers, a path is nevertheless navigated through these findings, stopping *en route* to consider those salient to the unfolding argument. Thus, in order to avoid a formulaic and repetitive discussion, each statement is not considered in turn. Instead, discussion centres upon the comparison *between* places, and, specifically, the trio of BB Company, home and school, the latter two selected given their established status as key sites in the everyday social geographies of young people (see INTRODUCTION). This clearly serves to sideline some of the analysis. Interested readers are, then, encouraged to consult Graph 3 above to delve deeper.

SCHOOL

Findings concerning the school resonate with the sense of feelings gleaned after scrutiny of the sketch above. School is somewhere boys do not enjoy spending time (see Graph 3.1), are made to attend (.2)[157], and over which they perceive themselves to have little control: freedom of expression is limited (.9) and freedom of action further constrained (.7). Surprisingly, for a place whose function (at least in part) is that of education, these boys considered that they learned more at home than at school and only marginally more at school than at The BB, fast food outlets or while visiting family (.8). Indeed, in later discussion boys expressly commented that they 'don't learn at

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[157] It should be noted that in Scotland this is a legal requirement until the age of 16. Only one boy completing the questionnaire was legally exempt from attending school, the age distribution of boys being as follows: 17 (n=1), 15 (1), 12 (5), 11 (3) and, 10 (2).

school' (Field Diary, 25/11/04). Moreover, school is a place where these boys do not feel they belong: it scores the lowest belonging score of any place, and this ties only with enjoyment at school as the lowest score awarded to any statement (.10). In saying this, school is a place which provides the opportunity to meet friends (.3) and in which the people (i.e., their peers) are generally liked by boys (.4). It is not, however, a space in which all boys feel safe (.6), and in terms of safety school is awarded the lowest score of the six places shown on the radar plots.

Finding this surprising, in later discussion the issue was raised with boys. What was revealed in conversation proved insightful, chiming with eavesdropped utterances while they sketched (see above). Relationships with people emerged as crucial to 'feeling safe' and, particularly, in being able to say what you think to these individuals. For some they could do this at school, with friends or (some) teachers. Yet, safety *to* express what they wanted is only one dimension of their conception of safety; safety *from* harm is also desired. Indeed, boys felt unsafe at school as it was here that they were potentially subjected to the threat of bullying and physical violence[158]. An entry in one boy's diary is revealing:

> Friday morning was just a usual morning. At lunch time a third year boy punched me on the nose (for no reason). I got sent home early.

Interestingly, in conversation understandings of the school as 'unsafe' are set in a wider context: the killing of 16 children and their teacher at Dunblane Primary School in March 1996. Despite the fact that the oldest boy participating in the study would only have been nine when this event took place, it remained high in these boys' consciousness. Indeed, one boy provided his own reasoning behind his belief that 'schools aren't safe places' through this incident: 'a guy came in in nineteen whatever to shoot the kids' (Field Diary, 25/11/04). Several other boys agreed with this statement. Undoubtedly too, the horrific events at Beslan's No. 1 school just two months previously would not have been far from these boys' minds (see also below); foregrounding that the unfolding of the world in the 'background' of research should never be neglected in subsequent analysis.

HOME

Standing in stark contrast with the school are these boys' homes. Here, all feel safe (.6), enjoy spending time (.1), and, out of the six places listed, it is the one in which they feel they most belong (.10). Of interest too is the fact that it is the one in which they feel they learn most (.8). Reinforcing the sense that being able to say what you think is vital to their feelings of safety, it is here that these boys feel they have the greatest freedom of expression (.9) (though two boys disagreed with this statement and a further one failed to answer). This freedom of expression is not, however, matched by freedom of action. In response to the statement 'I can decide what I do here', home was nudged from the top spot by fast food outlets (.7), and ten of the 12 boys agreed

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[158] Contemporaneous findings from a research study conducted by the National Centre for Social Research revealed that '87% of 12-15 year olds and 68% of 16-19 year olds said bullying took place at their school' (Lloyd, 2004: 4).

with the statement 'I get told what to do here', with a further one placing his tick between the boxes (.5).

It is contended, then, that it is not necessarily having control over the space which leads young people to feel safe within it (witness the responses to the fast food outlet: while they emerge as the places where they most feel that they can decide what they do (.7), they also feel as limited here to express what they think as they do at school [.9]). At home there are rules and structures within which their lives are constrained. But, unlike school, those in authority (i.e., those setting the rules and imposing the structures) are those with whom they have a good relationship. More importantly, and through the equation of safety with freedom of expression, it is with these people that they feel safe. For these boys, their feeling of safety comes not through being at home but by being with those who make them feel safe; it is not from the place *per se* but from their relationships with others that their sense of safety springs.

This is perhaps stating what is obvious, but it is a finding with crucial implications when considering the space of The BB Company; a structured setting in which relationships between individuals are key, and the forging of these relationships is valued by those imposing this structure (see VIGNETTE THREE).

THE BOYS' BRIGADE

Boys agree that, like at school, when at BB they are subject to limits on both their freedom of action (.5) and expression (.9). The aforementioned practice of 'cherry-picking' activities, complying with those they dislike (drill, see above) to move onto those they like (games), however, means that being told what to do here does not bother them greatly (Field Diary, 25/11/04). Moreover, in terms of freedom of expression, boys commented that 'they cannot really say what they think at BB' (Field Diary, 25/11/04). That freedom of expression is perceived to be limited is interesting when set against the observation of boys over the session, particularly during Bible class, when the openness displayed was at times striking. Indeed, the Bible class was actively established as a space where views could be freely exchanged. For example;

> [The Captain] began bible class by discussing the Russian school siege. He moved from this to talk about evil, posing the question; were those who had taken the children hostage bad people? No was his reply; they were evil. [He] then asked the boys a series of questions: do we believe God exists?; the devil?; why a school? He then asked them about bad habits; 'how many of you swear?' Sensing reluctance to answer he added 'what is said in bible class stays in bible class'. His message was really one of zero tolerance: from bad habits follow far worse things, so they should not be doing them at all, even if our friends do (Field Diary, 09/09/04; original underlining).

In saying this, however, the content of these more formal discussions was markedly different from those with friends prior to the start of Bible Class, and undoubtedly different again from those which took place out of earshot.

> I went straight through to the side hall tonight just to see what they got up to before bible class started. Not unsurprisingly, they chatted, told jokes, admittedly a racist one which an NCO stood on when it was repeated to him (Field Diary, 23/09/04).

Furthermore, in response to the statement 'I can decide what I do here', The BB occupies a position at the foot of this table, alongside school and a friend's house (.7). Fast food outlets top this list, with 11 of the boys agreeing and only one disagreeing with this statement. Half of the boys asked to reflect on the statements stated they do not attend BB voluntarily (.2). In later discussion it was revealed that parents made them go but did not provide a reason for doing so (Field Diary, 25/11/04). Despite this, boys generally enjoyed attending their Company (.1), and all bar one boy agreed that they had friends there (.3). In terms of providing a feeling of safety The BB does emerge positively, with eight of the boys agreeing with the statement and only three disagreeing (a further one positioned his response between the options; .6). Yet, of more importance here is how responses to this statement for The BB stand in relation to those given for the other places listed. Only those places where relationships could be speculated to be closer (i.e., with friends, parents or other family) occupy a position higher in the ranked table, a finding mirrored in responses to the question 'I like the people here', where only the home, friend's house and visiting family appear higher than The BB (.4).

The BB therefore repeatedly emerges as a place occupying the middle-ground. There are places which, when the group of boys are taken together, are more enjoyable, where they learn more (.8), where they feel more sense of belonging (.10), or in which they feel safer (.6). Conversely, there are also places where they feel less free to act (.5) or express themselves (.9). On one occasion it does occupy a position at the foot of the ranked list – in response to the statement 'I can decide what I do here' – but it does not occupy this position alone (.7).

OPAQUE EXPLORATIONS

The episode examined in the second intervention above is thus symptomatic of a more general sense of feeling around the fact the boys do not feel completely at ease to express themselves or act as the they would wish in their BB Company. Despite freedom of expression being consciously constructed – 'what is said in Bible Class stays in Bible Class' – boys still feel limited by the structures that surround them. While it has already been noted that this structure acts in a positive manner to make transparent the minor resistances of the boys opening up the gaps within which 'resistive acts' can both take place, be identified as such, and 'licensed' for disciplinary ends (see CHAPTER SEVEN), it is suggested here that its presence also serves to restrict the very purpose of the period of time that proves pivotal to the overall purpose of the movement: the provision of a space for boys to explore the Christian faith and the forging of the relationships (perceived to be required) to support this journey towards a Christian maturity (see CHAPTER FIVE).

Reporting his findings of a three-year research project conducted by engaging in 'conversations' about spirituality with 211 young people (Rankin, 2005: 30) between the ages of 14

and 25 (*ibid.*: 23) drawn from throughout the United Kingdom and met in groups in a variety of locations, from coffee shops and street corners to record shops and trains, Rankin makes an impassioned call:

> It is essential for the development of young people that the correct space is provided to enable them to fully consider the spiritual questions and to connect to that which is currently 'buried'. Not to be told what the answers are, but a space where people can search and journey together to answer their questions. Indeed, a space where we all – old and young – can interact, learn one from the other and journey together as we explore for the answers to the spiritual questions and gain greater awareness of our spirituality. So, can these spaces be created? (*ibid.*: 81).

Answering the latter question in the affirmative, he concludes that youth work settings are not the most appropriate place for this exploration to occur, arguing instead that it is 'religious institutions that are best placed to engage with the spirituality of young people' (*ibid.*: 87). Crucially, the former are deemed unsuitable because we now live in an era when 'many youth agencies have chosen to remove this area [spirituality] from aims and objectives' (*ibid.*: 86):

> It seems to [him] that to be active in this area one must have some awareness of one's own spiritual understanding, experience and spirituality. This does not mean the acceptance of absolutes, of God or of anything else, but for a youth worker to connect with young people in this area that youth worker *must* have some awareness of their own place in it. There *must* be some awareness of their own reactions to spiritual questions and to their spirituality, and to allow young people to search for their own answers without undue influence (*ibid.*; original emphasis).

As evidenced throughout this thesis, both enshrined in the ethos of The BB (see CHAPTER FIVE) and expressed in conversation with its leaders (see CHAPTER THREE), the creation of such spaces are, at least in part, a desired function of the realisation of BB Companies. Yet, it is argued here that the establishment of the structure during Bible Class, and in other periods through the evening, mitigates against a truly exploratory approach. Relational distance, continually reinforced through spatial distances (see also CHAPTER SIX) and disciplinary practices during this period of the evening, clearly evidenced through a close 'reading' of the first intervention above, perhaps works against the creation of a space in which boys feel truly safe to express their thoughts. Put another way, it is the separation of boy and adult leader to realise The BB Company which leaves opaque the journeying of the Officers through their own spiritual landscape; while they frequently profess not to have all the answers, their own questionings are, to borrow Rankin's phrase, 'buried' beneath the weight of maintaining the very structure that serves to separate their explorations from the boys'[159].

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[159] Of course, its should be noted that Officers' own explorations in the companies of the past in arguably more structured settings did result in 'success'; they *were* lead to Christ and are now BB Officers. I contend, however, that in light of the demise of certain core activities, e.g., parades (admittedly in response to boys' dislike of such activities), or alterations to uniform, there has been a general shift towards informality in (some) sections of The BB. In *this* context

It is fitting then that in bringing this chapter, this couplet, and, indeed, the empirical section of this thesis to a close, we now move to the act of closing the doors of this disciplinary space and also to de-cloud the feelings that Officers associate with it. In foregrounding hopes and fears, anxiety and enthusiasm, in short, by adopting an approach weaving together the geographies of provision and participation, first tentative steps can be taken towards the opening up of safe spaces of spiritual exploration.

CLOSING DOORS

If it was anxiety, hope and enthusiasm which encapsulated the feelings of a BB Officer *en route* to their Company, it is a sense of relief, satisfaction and achievement which accompanies them home:

> It's a relief to go home after a long day at my work and a long week. I can go home and put my feet up and get a cup of tea (I 007).

But this relief is short-lived; almost immediately planning begins for the next week. The relief that the night is over is often swiftly followed by a de-brief session. As the Officer above continues:

> We usually always have the Officers, there's only three of us anyway, come back and we have a chat about how the night's gone and what we can do and what's the next thing we're going to plan and then usually eleven o'clock or something [we finish]. A Friday night's quite a long night, and there's nothing on the telly on a Friday so you're not missing much (I 007).

For others, this 'wind down period' each week presents an opportunity to 'have a moan about whoever's been a pain in the backside that particular night or somebody who's done something you haven't expected, who's shone that night' (I 004), crucially, with other like-minded individuals:

> If your partner is not a BB member of staff the chances are they're not really all that interested in [laughs] the rubbish that you've done [...] so those ten or 15 minutes to wind down and talk about it to other BB Officers [...] is quite a good thing (I 004).

Still others embark upon a process of self-criticism, sending as many questions as they had flying around an anxious mind at the start of the evening soaring round their head once more:

> It if goes well you've had a good night then fine. If you've had a bad night you say well what made it a bad night? Was it because we didn't do it right? Was somebody missing? We shouldn't have done that, we should've done that. And so, again, it's all down to organisation. And a bad night's not the kids' fault, it's your fault for not getting it right. [...] So I think that's really what you've got to look at, what did we do wrong tonight? Why were we getting all this hassle? (I 009).

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the maintenance of past structures may prove overburdening especially with much reduced volunteer numbers. Thus both external (societal) and internal (institutional) shifts prompt new ways of thinking through and responding to current circumstances. This work is but one intervention in this debate.

More frequently, when asked to reflect on the feelings that they associate with the act of leaving and locking the hall door at the close of the evening, it is a sense of satisfaction – of having achieved 'something worthwhile' – which emerges:

> I suppose there are some nights that you're just glad it's passed. That's maybe just an honest feeling. It didn't go very well or I was tired before I came down so just go through it. But having said that, other nights you almost feel that things have, it doesn't happen very often, but sometimes you feel that you've almost got the boys in your hands. When they go out quite chirpy and enthusiastic, I just [...] feel that you've had them in your hands and you could almost have said anything to them or asked them to do anything and they would have done it. And you think, that's a great responsibility. And just hoping that, whether it's an activity or a class that there was something worthwhile done. And you did it. And you do get a great sense of satisfaction, not every night, just some nights everything just seems to have clicked (I 010).

While this sense of satisfaction is shared by others (I 011; I 015; I 021; I 023), evident too is an underlying recognition that some evenings do not go as planned, that on some nights for whatever reason it does not *work*. For some this is quantifiable: 'there's only ten percent of the time maybe I'll go out of there thinking I'm glad that's over' (I 023) or, 'maybe every three out of five I would walk away shaking my head, think why? Three out of five maybe, I sound as if I'm hating it. It's maybe a bit high, it's maybe two out of five. I would say about thirty percent [*sic.*] on average' (I 022). Despite this Officer lamenting that 'there's always an element of disappointment' (I 022), for others the reverse is true: 'we've been quite lucky in that I think genuinely everybody's gone home at the end of the night, the staff and the boys, having enjoyed it' (I 012). Nevertheless, this dose of realism does not serve to dissuade these Officers, diverting them from their weekly pursuit. Instead, it is the *potential* for the achievement of 'something worthwhile', the occasional week when 'everything just seems to click', that drives them. This is an echo of earlier findings: the importance of satisfaction as a source of enjoyment (see CHAPTER THREE). In a sense, we have returned to our starting point, to the motivations of those who provide BB Companies. But in considering these closing doors we also return to the act of opening them, and to the start of this couplet. For it is this feeling that moves these individuals to return to the same place the following week to turn the key in the lock once more. Thus, it is the provision of a BB Company, their reconfiguration of the spaces allowing it to 'take place', that becomes the primary motivation for their return. The shadowy spaces of memory, the felt 'hauntings' (Conradson, 2003) of past achievements 'in place', contribute as much to the future realisation and furtherance of the movement as the logical and considered reflections on the question 'why?' with which we began:

> It's funny you asked that because nobody's ever asked me about that, but I know what you're talking about. I get a great feeling I would say most nights, especially if it's been a very successful evening, I get a very warm sense of achievement. And I love it, just the layout of the church. You have to switch of all the lights in the hall and then walk through the hall in the dark and go out the door. And

I just love that, lasting, where the church is empty. It's in darkness and you're just hearing the beams and everything settling. It's just great. I find it a very rewarding feeling and it does give me an opportunity to reflect on the night. That sounds a bit soppy doesn't it? (I 013).

SUMMARY

Returning full circle to the starting point of the empirical section of the thesis, this chapter launches a considered critique of what has emerged *en route* as the perceived prime function of the substantive creation of The BB Company. By reflecting upon two impromptu interventions in the research process, it has been speculated that the potential to establish a truly safe space for spiritual exploration is limited by the lack of transparency of leaders' own explorations across this spiritual landscape. Through consideration of the practices through which discipline is effected, spotlighted through a moment of its mediation, it has been argued that the structured nature of the space that is brought into being, in spatially and relationally separating leader from boy, serves as a contributory factor mitigating against young men and adults journeying together. Reinforcing the overall approach to the research, then, it is considered that only once the negotiated nature of the accomplishment is acknowledged – and the geographies of provision and participation are interwoven – will the potential to open up such spaces be realised.

CONCLUSION:

'AND THE THIRD ONE WILL SURPRISE YOU…': NEGOTIATING YOUTH WORK

Et la garde descendente,	And the old guard
rentre chez elle et s'en va,	goes off home to barracks –
sonne, trompette éclatante!	blow out, loud trumpet!
Taratata, taratata!	Taratata, taratata!
Nous marchons la tête haute	We march with head erect
comme de petits soldats, etc.	like little soldiers, etc.

Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, 1875, librettists for George Bizet's *Carmen*

Repetition. The guard now relieved, the imitative street boys repeat their earlier performance, following the 'old guard' 'home to barracks'. This thesis is located within the gap between the first performance and its repetition. *En route* a number of substantive conclusions have been reached about the motivations underpinning, the actions shaping, and the disruptions sustaining the realisation of BB Companies in communities across Scotland, and summaries of these findings were presented at each chapter's close. Nevertheless: I repeat.

Through a critical reading of the disjuncture between two accounts of the French agricultural colony of Mettray – i.e., the view from above by its founder Demetz and that from within the inmate world by Genet – the Foucauldian understanding of disciplinary space was explored. This provided the theoretical platform upon which the remainder of the thesis was constructed. Central to this foundation is a recognition that disciplinary spaces are brought into being through embodied and entangled practices of domination and resistance. The difficulty of identifying practices as 'resistance' demands a nuanced approach to its conceptualisation, building upon Scott's pioneering studies. Crucially, it is these practices that prise open the gap between disciplin*ed* space and disciplin*ary* space, the former a completed project, the latter a continual process, creating space through the circulation of power/knowledge and consent between individuals. Far from being antithetical to Foucault's accounts, a careful reading of *his* reading of Mettray as a window into the carceral archipelago countered his critics who, uncritically, find that Foucault leaves no room in his analyses for resistance and that they are, as a result, fatalist. Instead, Foucault's later work, particularly his formulations of governmentality and specifically the subtle workings of the

Christian pastoral on the soul, opens up an understanding that resistance, far from being anathema to Foucault's work, is entirely necessary, providing the 'wiggle-room' (Philo, 2004: 127) within which 'the ethical work of the self on the self' (Foucault, 1986: 91) is conducted, the space in which we as subjects 'cultivate' our 'selves' (*ibid.*: 67).

This conceptualisation of disciplinary space provided the lens through which the spaces of The BB Company – both bounded and embodied, static and mobile – were then 'read'. And when turned towards these spaces of structured youth work, envisioning such spaces as brought into being through negotiated practice called forth an approach alert to the interwoven geographies of provision and participation that materialise The BB Company. A focus on only one side of this 'equation' would fall short of this Foucauldian understanding of the calculus of power *in place*, realising the spaces of everyday life. Read simply as an adult provided site of religious socialisation would deny the agency of young people actively negotiating its existence and, moreover, taking pleasure from their cultivation through its disciplinary circuits. Similarly, only focussing on young people's participation within BB Companies would sideline consideration of the structuring limits placed on agency through the specific form and distinct ethos underpinning its provision, potentially leading to an over-celebration of resistance. The spaces of The BB are, hence, both bounded and embodied: bounded, in that structure instantiated through the reconfiguration of space (and bodies in space) imposes spatial and behavioural limits on action; embodied, in that the negotiation of practices serves to bound and reconfigure. Its spaces are thus fleeting stabilisations of power relations between its immediate actors (i.e., between Officers and boys, boys and boys) but also boys with themselves and, indeed, all actors present in relation to the transcendent without yet within the spaces of the Company: God.

Pursuing this interweaving, the thesis has swung between two poles: provision and participation. So, recasting its structure, the first empirical half (Chapter Three, Four and Five) was concerned, in the main, with the former, the second half (Chapter Six, Seven and Eight) the latter (although each does inevitably and purposefully 'creep' into the other). Its fulcrum is therefore the gap between Chapter Five and Chapter Six, the point at which attention shifts from idealised practice to realised process. From this point fissures open such that by the close of the final substantive chapter provision and participation are intermingled, demonstrating that The BB *cannot but* be considered as a complex site created through negotiation. It is this idea that perhaps becomes the thesis' key theoretical contribution. But, in working towards this gap, the substantive conclusions of these six chapters should be reconnected to the research problematics with which the thesis began and recontextualised within the disciplinary sub-fields surveyed earlier[160].

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[160] Readers will note that the three vignettes are not concluded here. This reflects my desire to use these devices as part of an albeit 'shallow' post-modern writing strategy allowing them to resonate with the main argument but not to be co-opted into it.

PROVISION

In its INTRODUCTION this thesis stated categorically its central concern with the motivation behind adults' voluntary provision of BB Companies, and its findings do much to challenge aspatial accounts of volunteer motivations. CHAPTER FOUR, for example, forcefully argued that the community context serves as an active agent in Officers' service not least due to a construction of 'the street' as a moral location. Officer's provision and operation of the alternative 'activityspace' of a BB Company is thus conceived in relation to a careful moral mapping of the material spaces and activities in place perceived to be physically, spiritually and morally damaging to boys' development. Put simply, motivations reflect judgements 'made geographically'. More subtly, CHAPTER THREE effected a scrambling of the altruism-egoism spectrum, particularly by addition of a temporal element through explication of the cyclical *intergenerational* process of 'passing on'. And the unpacking of this process, particularly when situated within the context of the Christian ethos of the movement, proves to be the main challenge. In short, though cognisant of the relationship to an individual's values, community context or personal development, such accounts say far less about how voluntary motivation is guided and shaped by that which is 'beyond' the self and society; a concept of God. Just as it is difficult to discern *in practice* whether a driver pulling over for a passing emergency services vehicle is an act of selflessness (for others now), selfishness (for their possible future self) or obedience (to law), it cannot simply be stated that the provision of BB Companies is guided by altruism or egoism when both intertwine and, for some, is a faith-inspired action underpinned by 'obedience' (read in the tempered, more liberatory sense suggested earlier) to a direct 'call' from God. Nor can BB Companies be 'read' simplistically as sites of young people's socialisation into a particular set of religious beliefs. Indeed, Officers' nuanced understanding of The BB's Christian mission – as cultivation *in situ* rather than diffusion – prompted a subtle approach to their theorisation. To be sure, the propagation of Christian selves *is* clearly the aim. Moral codes *are* inscribed into the spaces of The BB through realising in practice its Object, the guiding narrative deconstructed in CHAPTER FIVE. And, as noted, this statement works towards Christian maturity through the promotion of a *counter*-hegemonic aspirational model of masculinity that remains wed to an albeit often subtly expressed patriarchical vision of both the family and the male's role within it. But, in terms of mission, this cultivation leaves room for deviation, for turning away from faith and, crucially, for questioning. Though there remains a sense that Officers do clearly wish to spread *their* faith, boys' agency is centred in the approach adopted to do so: they may not wish to commit to faith but are supported and nurtured regardless of the decision; Officers often operating on the assumption that they will never see the product of their work. Arguably, such cultivation can be read through a Foucauldian understanding of pastoral power to be *more* effective in producing Christian selves; it is through close-knit *personal* relationships that certain ways of doing and be(com)ing are internalised, not least because subtle transgressions of authority translate into strains on these relationships and potentially throw up disappointment as an *emotional* response. It cannot, on the evidence presented here, be read in a

sinister fashion. And for one important reason: the space of religious socialisation outlined should not be conceived solely as a site of young people's socialisation; adults too are socialised through the process of provision. That some Officers discern a divine call to serve through involvement in The BB prompts this conclusion. This and other spaces of religious socialisation *must* be read in this nuanced way as not only spaces in which young people and adults – *together* – can pose questions of an existential nature but also as spaces provided and reconfigured in response to such questionings. This timely intervention is considered vital to the carving open of spaces of inter-generational spiritual contemplation and exploration in a world where, arguably, faith-replacing-ideology returns as the hegemonic meta-narrative; i.e., the overarching discursive construction through which action and inaction are read.

Thus, just as this thesis sought to advance research within the geographies of volunteering by examining motivation *geographically* through consideration of how moral mappings are themselves agents in voluntary service, disclosing an example of a 'different site of religious practice beyond the 'officially' sacred' (Kong, 2001: 226) and working towards a conceptualisation of such spaces as not only facilitating spiritual questionings but also being sites engendering a process of questioning, an enmeshing of the division at the heart of Geography's engagement with 'religion' has been (albeit partially) effected. Furthermore, this research has also chimed with contemporary concerns in the re-invigorated sub-field of institutional geographies. Critical appraisal of the movement's Object served to address a research problematic concerning the ways in which moral codes are inscribed into 'BB space'. Vignettes, acting as interruptions to the thesis's mainline narrative also revealed interruptions to the seamless creation and dissemination of institutional codes through the movement's guiding texts, lending renewed significance to the understanding of institutions as constituted by practice, their subsequent unfolding across space a product of the meeting of institutional codes (i.e., sedimented practice textualised) with local context, and crucially, Officers' interpretation and motivation; i.e., a process of refraction rather than reflection. Consequently, this thesis offered insight into how, through practice, process and performativity, 'institutions produce structures' (Saugeres, 2000: 589), a pivotal finding feeding into the theoretical contribution of the research to follow.

Yet, despite both relating to and pushing forward several sub-fields, this thesis was, from the first, framed as a work emerging from and seeking to address the absence of research on the spaces of voluntary youth work in the sub-field of children's geographies. Drawing these spaces out of the shadows has been achieved by considering The BB Company as a product of the process of negotiating the very structure that brings it into being, a process located in the aforementioned gap between CHAPTER FIVE and CHAPTER SIX; the faultline between provision and participation.

PARTICIPATION

Two of the four key research problematics here concern young people's voluntary participation in and appropriation of the adult provided spaces of The BB Company. Experimentation with participatory research approaches not only served to address these concerns, situating The BB within young people's everyday social geographies and contextualising their understanding of it in relation to the school and home, but also served to open up fissures in the realised process of The BB Company and hence to pinpoint its everyday negotiation. And these cracks began to appear in CHAPTER SIX. In its concern for the realisation of the Object in practice *in place* through formal routines at the start and end of a meeting night, subtle transgressions of realised process and tweaks of idealised practice were introduced by boys and Officers respectively. For example, through chatter or foot-stalling, boys openly resist or slow the routine, whereas Officers introduce subtle licences for favoured boys who, say, forget uniform items, thus adapting the 'system' to suit their ends. Moreover, such licences and transgressions are discovered to be all but sanctioned by a 'system' that devolves responsibility to boys as adult-endorsed NCOs, introducing the possibility that not only can pleasure be taken by a boy when cultivating their own or their squad's performance of good drill, display of a smart uniform, etc., but also from accepting responsibility for others' development in the BB system. Realising that this is the case challenges over-simplistic understandings of both 'resistance' to a single authority figure and 'domination' by the same. CHAPTER SEVEN spotlighted more noticeably the series of small-scale minute-by-minute spatio-temporal *negotiations* of both disciplinary technologies and relations that materialise the Company. Its crucial finding, however, that the routine – without which the Company does not exist – was a negotiated accomplishment, provided the foundation for a critical theorisation of the spaces of structured youth work. Through the folding of the research process into the concrete creation of the Company, CHAPTER EIGHT highlighted the mediated nature of discipline itself. Moreover, and more critically, this structure was regarded as working against the express purpose of The BB Company – the carving open of truly safe spaces of spiritual exploration – as it at best masks and at worst buries the existential questionings of Officers. Arguably, such spaces can only be truly 'opened' once the negotiated nature of the spaces of structured youth work is acknowledged. And here the interweaving of *voluntary* provision and *voluntary* participation comprised the platform for their theorisation, as well as a framework through which to explore similar settings as part of the wider project within the corpus of children's geographies this research is seeking to advance. In setting this forth, discussion returns to the starting point of this thesis and its concluding chapter: a Company of imitative street boys.

NEGOTIATING YOUTH WORK

The repetition of the street boys' performance at the outset of this conclusion purposefully draws attention to the fact that something *gains* in its repetition, however slight. *Carmen*'s audience, having seen the earlier performance, takes something new from its repetition, just as the audience

for this thesis hopefully reads something new into the repetition of (now collated) findings reframed through a slightly different lens. Assuming the pseudonym Constantin Constantius, in his 1843 volume *Repetition*, Kierkegaard writes of a Professor Ussing who, when delivering a speech, reached a point that met with the audience's disapproval;

> [W]hat did he do[?] [T]his professor who at the time was always resolute and forceful – he pounded the table and said: I repeat. What he meant at the time was that what he said gained by repetition (quoted in Hong and Hong, 2000: 103).

And this *gain* is a result of the fact that 'there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference' (Lefebvre, 2004: 6). Lefebvre, reaching a similar conclusion to Kierkegaard's Constantius – 'there is no repetition at all' (quoted in Hong and Hong, 2000: 107) – notes that 'there is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely' (Lefebvre, 2004: 6). Recognition of this fact – *of something gaining through its repetition* – is a central part of Lefebvre's 'rhythmanalytical' project. Borrowing the term rhythmanalysis from Bachelard, the rhythms of everyday life become a mode of Lefebvre's analysis: i.e., 'a *tool* of analysis rather than just an *object* of it' (Elden, 2004: xii; original emphasis). His project is hence founded on the following premise;

> Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy there is **rhythm**. Therefore: a) repetition (of movements, gestures, action, situations, differences); b) interferences of linear processes and cyclical processes; c) birth, growth, peak, then decline and end. This supplies the framework for analyses of the *particular*, therefore *real* and *concrete* cases that feature in music, history and the lives of individuals or groups (Lefebvre, 2004: 15; original emphasis).

In this project it is the body's position in relation to such rhythms that is crucial. Thus, Lefebvre's rhymanalyst;

> calls on all his [*sic*.] senses. He draws on his breathing, the circulation of his blood, the beatings of his heart and the delivery of his speech as landmarks. Without privileging any one of these sensations, raised by him in the perception of rhythms, to the detriment of any other. He thinks with his body, not in the abstract, but in lived temporality. [...] He garbs himself in the tissue of the lived, of the everyday (*ibid.*: 21).

This appreciation of how 'the body serves us as a metronome' (Elden, 2004: xii) potentially opens up new avenues into the geographies of the 'everyday': in both senses of the term; the mundane *and* the repetitive (*ibid.*: ix). (And I see at least one appealing application of this approach being the writing of wonder*ful* experiential children's geographies while still remaining alert to the socially contingent structuring rhythms of childhood: see INTRODUCTION.) Yet, just as the body becomes the keynote for the discernment of the rhythms of the everyday, it is also the locus of their

operation; and this is where Lefebvre's project collides with my own: the body conceived as the site of dressage.

A Foucauldian understanding of dressage informs Lefebvre's work. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault sets this forth;

> By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of habit; in short, one has 'got rid of the peasant' and given him 'the air of a soldier' (1977: 135).

Foucault's explorations of the shift from identifying soldierly bodies to the formation of the soldier works towards a reading of La Mettrie's *L'Homme-machine* as 'both a materialist reduction of the soul and a general theory of *dressage*, at the centre of which reigns the notion of 'docility', which joins the analysable body to the manipulable body. A body is docile that it may be subjected, used, transformed and improved' (1977: 136; original emphasis). Threading throughout this thesis, though, is an appreciation of how Foucault's later work stresses that the production of 'docility' is neither passive nor automatic: far from producing an automaton, individuals 'cultivate' themselves as subjects. This does not ignore the fact that these selves are still subject*ed* to disciplinary technologies and situated within disciplinary relations. Put baldy, then, this cultivation is conjoined with a form of topiary: pruning and tending. Bringing this understanding to his analysis, Lefebvre notes;

> One can and one must distinguish between education, learning and dressage or training. Knowing how to live, knowing how to do something and just plain knowing do not coincide. Not that one can separate them. Not to forget that they go together. To enter into a society, group or nationality is to accept values (that are taught), to learn a trade by following the right channels, but also to bend oneself (to be bent) to its ways. Which means to say: dressage. Humans break themselves in like animals. They learn to hold themselves. Dressage can go a long way: as far as breathing, movements, sex. It bases itself on **repetition** (2004: 39; original emphasis).

Echoing Foucault's own emphasis on docility-*utility* (1977: 137; added emphasis) and the illusory nature of freedom within the constraints of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1979: 86), Lefebvre continues;

> Dressage puts into place an automatism of repetitions. But the circumstances are never *exactly* and absolutely the same, *identical*. There are changes, be they only by the hour or the season, the climate, light, etc. Dressage fills the place of the unforeseen, of the initiative of living beings. Thus function the ways of breaking-in humans: military knowledge, the rites of politeness, business. Space and time thus laid out make room for humans, for education and initiative: for liberty. A little room. More of an illusion: dressage does not disappear (2004: 39; original emphasis).

The gain between repetitive acts is the *work* of dressage: 'one breaks-in another human living being by making them repeat a certain act, a certain gesture or movement. [...] In their course of their *being broken in*, animals [and human beings] *work*' (Lefebvre, 2004: 39, 40). The suggestion that The BB is *nothing but* its rhythms reconfiguring all manner of indoor and outdoor spaces – the church hall, the city street, the isolated camp site – has already been proffered. That The BB is a space of youth *work* (emphasis after Lefebvre) extends this theorisation further. Through dressage – a weaving of disciplinary technologies and relations centred on the body, mind and soul – young people are broken-in to a particular way of life, cultivating a (Christian) self-hood through repetitive thoroughly embodied and, crucially, spatial acts (e.g., twice-nightly periods of formality, weekly drill routines, fortnightly bible class, monthly parades, an annual camp). Demonstrated again and again throughout the thesis, these repetitions are never devoid of difference nor are they simple translations of adults' will. They play out differently with each iteration: 'not only does repetition not exclude differences, it also gives birth to them; it **produces** them' (2004: 7; original emphasis). Thus, it is in the *gap* between repetitive acts, *accomplishing* the meeting night, the parade, the camp, that the gain – *the work of dressage* – occurs. This gap widens through a process of negotiation between boys and adults such that the shared materialisation of 'BB space' in this interstice is indelibly a product of such negotiation. This understanding is not anathema to Lefebvre's. A fruitful *collision* of wills and desires establishes the rhythm that brings the space into being and without which it does not exist. And this *is* an active collision, not a confluence: wills, desires and ends clash and are resolved through a series of small-scale spatio-temporal negotiations; i.e., resolutions of conflict. Thus, *disruptions* – antagonistic alterations to the structuring rhythm, resistances (licensed or otherwise) – are necessary elements of this process;

> All becoming irregular (or, if one wants, all *deregulation*, though this word has taken on an official sense) of rhythms produces antagonistic effects. It *throws out of order* and disrupts; it is symptomatic of a disruption that is generally profound, lesional and no longer functional. It can also produce a lacuna, a hole in time, to be filled in by an invention, a creation. That only happens, individually or socially, by passing through a *crisis* (Lefebvre, 2004: 44; original emphasis).

The 'creation' emerging out of minor moments of 'crisis' *when structure flexes* is a BB Company. Its rhythm – its disciplinary relations, technologies, routines and repetitions – brings it into being. The *work* of the cultivation (read: individual invention) of a (Christian) self-hood is conducted through this rhythm. But, on this analysis, straightforwardly to label The BB as a space of structured youth work, and uncritically to suggest an adult moulding of young people into a particular model of self, is to deny the agency of those who create the structure; the rhythm itself is the collective composition of boys *and* adults. As has been repeatedly evidenced throughout this thesis, the materialisation of a BB Company is a product of a process of negotiation, a complex interweaving of the geographies of *voluntary* provision and *voluntary* participation (i.e., the wider moral geographies that underpin the former and the micro-geographies of practice that secure the

latter). And this emphasis is essential: boys are not squeezed into this rhythm, but instead, in sharing in its composition, they are not being passively broken-in but are actively break*ing* themselves in, enlist*ing* themselves in their own discipl*ing*, cultivat*ing* their own Christian self, and, ultimately, conducting their own voluntary youth *work*;

> We sent out a questionnaire [laughs] two years ago to all the boys in the Company Section asking them what they liked and what they didn't like and [to] put in order their thoughts on the Company [...]. And [...] there was three things that came up that they enjoyed, what they thought The BB was about; and the third one will surprise you... first one was camp, second one was football and third one was discipline (I 007).

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GEOGRAPHIC SCIENCE

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Moral Landscapes of The Boys' Brigade in Scotland
PhD Research Project | Richard G. Kyle

Questionnaire: *for Leaders*

What is this questionnaire for?

This questionnaire forms the introductory part of a research project being conducted by **Richard G. Kyle** for the degree of PhD. The work is being conducted in the Department of Geography and Topographic Science at the University of Glasgow. The research project is funded by the well-respected academic journal *Urban Studies*.

What is this research about?

My research has two main aims: i) to explore what The Boys' Brigade (BB) means to young people and its importance in their everyday geographies, and ii) to understand the motivation behind the provision of the BB by its adult leadership.

Why a questionnaire?

This questionnaire goes some way to meet the second aim of the research project. As BB leaders you have a wealth of valuable information regarding what it is *actually* like to be a BB leader in 2003, the challenges you face, and the reasons why you are a BB leader. This questionnaire is a means through which as many leaders as possible can share these experiences and inform the research.

Who is this questionnaire for?

One copy of this questionnaire will be sent to all BB companies in Scotland. Ideally, it should be completed by a leader who is involved in the **company section** as this age group will provide the particular focus for later sections of the project. However, if no company section exists any leader can complete it. Should more than one leader in each company wish to complete the questionnaire contact me at rkyle@geog.gla.ac.uk or at the address on page 9 and I can send further copies either electronically or through the post. It will also be available online at www.geog.gla.ac.uk/~rkyle/questionnaire.htm.

How is the questionnaire laid out?

The questionnaire has **41** questions in **6** sections: Section 1: **About you...**, Section 2: **About your company...**, Section 3: **Your company...and your community**, Section 4: **Your company...and its church**, Section 5: **Your company...and the wider Brigade**, and Section 6: **A final task...**

Each section contains between **3** and **13** questions, most requiring short answers. Others, however, provide an opportunity for you to share your insight at length – please do feel free to write as much as you wish, even appending extra sheets if necessary – I value, and will carefully consider, all your responses!

How will your responses be used?

Your responses will be analysed and may be quoted in the completed PhD thesis or in subsequent publications reporting on the research. These may include both academic journals or more popular outlets (e.g. *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*). At all times however, the strictest confidence will apply, only the researcher (Richard G. Kyle) will have access to the questionnaires and at no time will people be able to identify you from any of the texts. You can, of course opt out at any time.

However, responses from Section 5 – and **ONLY** Section 5 – of this questionnaire will be used by the researcher to produce a report for the BB on the support companies need from the wider brigade (i.e. battalions, regional and national headquarters). The results from this section will be reported to Brigade Council in 2004. Naturally, the same level of confidentiality will apply here as above and at no time will the BB be able to view your responses.

How long will it take?

The survey is fairly comprehensive and so you should allow yourself around **an hour** to complete it. This is, I know, asking a lot, but I feel that the information you provide would be invaluable to my research and I hope that completing the questionnaire will be an enjoyable experience. Thank you for your time.

Section 1: About you...

This section contains **13 questions about you**, your current and past involvement in The Boys' Brigade (BB) and/or other youth organisations. Where you are presented with a ☐ please ✓ the answer(s) which apply.

Q1 | Name: [_____]   Q2 | **Male** ☐ | **Female** ☐   Q3 | Age: [_____]

Q4 | Rank: **W.O.** ☐ | **Lieut.** ☐ | **Captain** ☐ [If you are also the company **Chaplain** please ✓ here ☐]

Q5 | Do you hold any other BB offices (e.g. battalion secretary, member of battalion committee)? **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES** please provide details here: [_____]

Q6 | How long have you been a BB leader? [_____]

Q7 | Were you in the BB as a boy?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, at what age did you join? [_____]

Since this age did you stay a member of the BB until becoming a leader?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **NO**, at what age did you leave? [_____] Why? [_____]

Which BB company or companies did you attend? [_____]

[Please feel free to **attach another sheet** about your experiences in the BB as a boy/young man if you wish]

Q8 | Were you a **member** of **another** youth organisation (e.g. Boy Scouts, Guides etc...)?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, which? [_____] Where? [_____]

Q9 | Are you **currently** a **leader** in **another** youth organisation?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, which? [_____] Where? [_____]

Q10 | Have you **ever** been a leader in another youth organisation?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, which? [_____] When? [_____]

Q11 | Are you **currently** a Sunday school teacher?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, where? [_____]

Q12 | Have you **ever** been a Sunday school teacher?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, where? [_____] When? [_____]

Q13 | This question is perhaps not the easiest to answer, but **why** are you a BB leader?

[_____]

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Section 2: About your company...

This section contains **11 questions** about your company. Here I ask about your company's membership, its meeting place and the activities which your company conducts.

Q14 | Company: [   ]   Q15 | Battalion: [   ]

Q16 | **Where** does your company meet? | Church Hall ☐ | School Hall ☐ | Community Centre ☐ | BB Hut ☐

Other ☐ [**Please specify**] [   ]

Q17 | Which **sections** does your company operate? [Please ✓ those which apply **and** circle the section(s) you work with]

		Meeting Night/Time	Boys Enrolled	Average attendance
Anchor Boys	☐	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Junior	☐	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Company	☐	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Senior (15 yrs +)	☐	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Q18 | On which **night** and at what **time** does each meet? [Please **add to** the **table** above, e.g. Friday, 7:30-9:30]

Q19 | **Including each boy only once**, how many boys are **enrolled** in each section? [Please **add to** the **table** above]

Q20 | What is the **average attendance** at each section on a meeting night? [Please **add to** the **table** above]

Q21 | Between which **months** does your company meet (e.g. mid.-Aug. – end May)? [   ]

Q22 | Which, if any, of the following activities does your company operate? [Please ✓ all which apply]

Bible Class ☐ | If so, **when** (e.g. Sunday, 9:00-10:00)? [   ]

What is the average attendance? [   ]

Club/Boys' Room ☐ | If so, on what night(s) is it open? [Please ✓ below]

Sun ☐ | Mon ☐ | Tue ☐ | Wed ☐ | Thu ☐ | Fri ☐ | Sat ☐

Between what times is it open? [Please **add to** the **table** above, e.g. 7:30-9:00]

Band ☐ | Please specify type: [   ] Number of boys? [   ]

Q23 | If possible, set out a typical **Company Section** programme below. It would also be valuable if you could identify **where** each of the activities **takes place** (e.g. the main hall, side halls, rooms etc...) and which **age group** this involves. To save time, if this is available in another form please just attach it to the questionnaire.

Section 2: About your company... [contd.]

Q24   Similarly, in the boxes below (or on a separate sheet if you wish), sketch the positions of the company **membership** in the room identified in **Q16** overleaf at the **start** and **end** of a **company section** meeting night. I have provided an example of my own company to get you started.
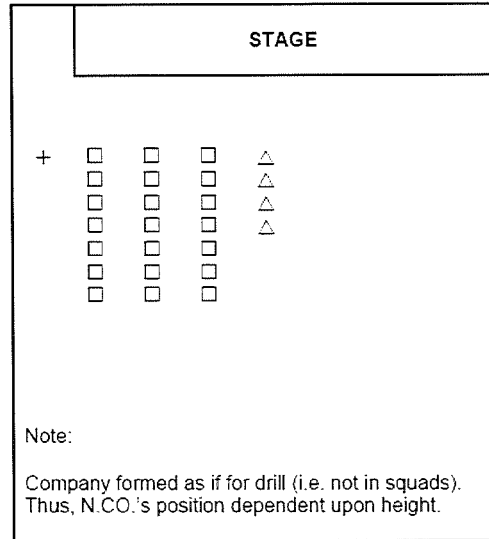
Start [Example]
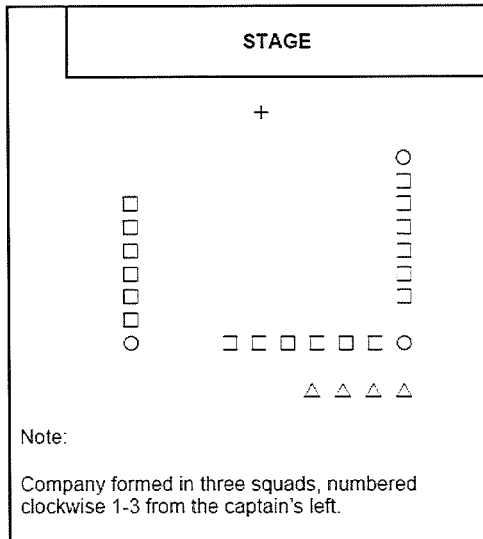
Note:

Company formed in three squads, numbered clockwise 1-3 from the captain's left.

End [Example]

Note:

Company formed as if for drill (i.e. not in squads). Thus, N.CO.'s position dependent upon height.
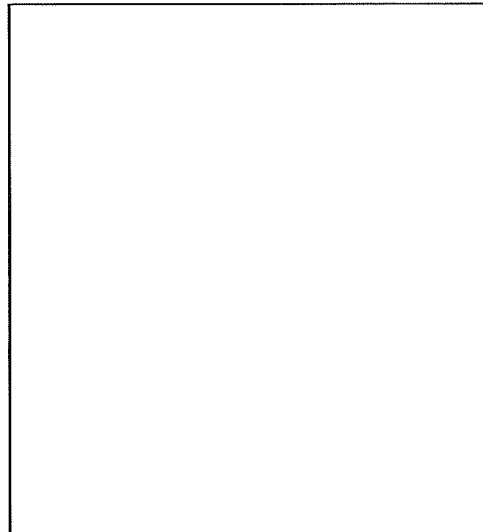
Key:

+   Captain
◇   Officer in Charge
□   Boys
O   N.C.O.'s
△   Other Officers

Any **other objects**, such as tables, flags etc... should also be sketched onto the diagram. A simple box with a label just as I have done with STAGE above will suffice.

Start

End

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Section 3: Your company...and your community

This section contains **5 questions** which examine the place of your BB company within its community. Here I ask about the nature of your community, the activities it offers its young people and what you feel the particular challenges this community presents to the young people who live, work and play in it.

Q25 Which of the following terms would best describe the **community** in which the majority of your **membership live**?
[Please ✓ **one** box]

City Centre	☐	Town	☐
Urban Priority Area	☐	New Town	☐
Housing Scheme	☐	Rural: Commuter/dormitory area	☐
Suburban	☐	Rural: Other areas	☐

Q26 What do you think are the **challenges** facing young people in the community your company serves?

Q27 What in your opinion does the presence of your BB company **contribute** to your community?

Q28 Aside from the BB what **other provision** is made **for** the **young people** in your community?

Would you regard this as adequate?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **NO**, what **need** does this provision not meet?

Q29 How would you **rate** the relationship between your **company** and its **community** on a scale of 0 - 4 (where, 0 = **Cold, 4 = Warm**)?

0   1   2   3   4   [Please **circle**]

Please **comment** on the **relationship** between your **company** and the **community** it serves.

Section 4: Your company...and the church

This shorter section contains **4 questions** about the church to which your BB company is attached and the relationship between your company, its church and community.

Q30 | To which **church** is your company attached?

Q31 | To which **denomination** does this church belong? [Please ✓ that which applies]

Presbyterian: Church of Scotland ☐
Presbyterian: Other ☐ Please specify:
Episcopal ☐
Baptist ☐
Congregational ☐
Methodist ☐
Other ☐ Please specify:

Q32 | How would you **rate** the **relationship** between the **church** to which your company is attached and the **community** it serves on a scale of **0 - 4** (where, **0 = Cold, 4 = Warm**)?

0   1   2   3   4   [Please **circle**]

Please **comment** on the **relationship** between the **church** to which your company is attached and the **community** it serves.

Q33 | How would you **rate** the relationship between your **company** and the **church** to which it is attached on a scale of **0 - 4** (where, **0 = Cold, 4 = Warm**)?

0   1   2   3   4   [Please **circle**]

Please **comment** on the **relationship** between your **company** and the **church** to which it is attached.

Section 5: Your company...and the wider Brigade

As stated above, responses from the **5 questions** in this section – and **ONLY** this section – will be utilised to produce a report for The Boys' Brigade on the support companies require from their battalions, regional and national headquarters. This is a central aim of the 2003-2008 Business Plan. The findings from this section of the study will be reported at Brigade Council in 2004. Of course, as before, all responses will be treated in confidence and if quoted will be quoted anonymously.

Q34 | In order to run your company what support do you **need** from each of these levels? [Please **list** below]

Battalion	Regional HQ (i.e. Carronvale House)	National HQ (i.e. Felden Lodge)

Q35 | Ordinarily, which of these levels is your **first port of call** if your company needs to obtain support? [Please ✓]

Battalion ☐ | Regional HQ ☐ | National HQ ☐

Other ☐ Please specify: [   ]

Why do you go there first?

[   ]

Are your **needs** usually **met** at this level? **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐ If **NO**, where do you go next? [   ]

Q36 | With respect to your company's support needs set out above, how would you rate the **level** of support your company **currently** receives from each of the following organisational levels of the wider brigade? [Please **circle** where 0 = **Unacceptable**, 2 = **Satisfactory** and 4 = **Exceptional**]

Battalion	Regional HQ	National HQ
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4

Q37 | How would you rate the **quality** of support your company **currently** receives from each of the following organisational levels of the wider brigade? [Please **circle** where 0 = **Unacceptable**, 2 = **Satisfactory** and 4 = **Exceptional**]

Battalion	Regional HQ	National HQ
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4

If you have circled **0** or **1** in your response above please outline how this service could be improved to meet your satisfaction. Please be as honest as you can and provide details of particular examples if you wish.

[   ]

Q38 | In the **future**, where do you think the bulk of your support needs will lie?

Battalion ☐ | Regional HQ ☐ | National HQ ☐

Other ☐ Please specify: [   ]

Section 6: **A final task...**

This last section is the most challenging, containing **3** final **questions**. Here I ask you to reflect upon the object of the movement and pause to think about exactly what it means. As before, if you wish to expand on any questions please do so by attaching a sheet to the questionnaire.

As you are aware, the object of The Boys' Brigade is;

> **'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness'.**

Q39 | If you had to **explain** this object to someone who was not familiar with the BB what would you say?

Q40 | In your opinion, how does the BB **achieve** this object?

Q41 | Do you think this object is still **relevant** for today's young people?   **Yes** ☐ | **No** ☐

If **YES**, why?

If **NO**, what would be a more appropriate object?

Thank You!

Thank you once again for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. I hope, however, that you have found it an enjoyable experience, if at times a little challenging! **All your responses are valued** and will receive the attention they are due. If you want to find out how the research is progressing I will regularly update the news section of the project website with details (see www.geog.gla.ac.uk/~rkyle/news.htm). Once I have completed my thesis I will post a **synopsis** of its findings on the site (www.geog.gla.ac.uk/~rkyle/). As a participant in this research if you also wish to receive this by post or e-mail please write your details below.

Name: _____ Mr. ☐ | Mrs. ☐ | Miss ☐ | Rev. ☐ | Dr. ☐

Address:

Postcode: _____ e-mail: _____

Further opportunities to get involved

As noted above, this questionnaire is only a small part of a larger research project. As a result there will be **more opportunities to get involved**. At the moment I am looking for volunteers to be interviewed (either on their own or as part of a group of leaders). These **interviews** pick up where this questionnaire left off and will ask you about your involvement and experiences in the BB, primarily focused on the reasons why you choose to be BB leaders. If you wish to get involved in this stage of the research please contact me – my details are provided below.

At this stage I am also looking for some companies to participate in a more in-depth study. This will involve me observing the activities ongoing within the **company section** for half a BB session in order to understand what the BB means to young people's lives and the importance of it in young people's everyday geographies. Towards the end of this work there will be an opportunity for the boys to get involved in their own research by filming a BB evening. This recording will provide the stimulus for several short weekly discussions with the young people in the company. If you wish to get involved or have any questions about my research please do not hesitate to **contact me** or visit www.geog.gla.ac.uk/~rkyle/ for more details.

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www.geog.gla.ac.uk/~rkyle/

THE QUESTIONNAIRE: SECTION BY SECTION

The first page of the questionnaire took the form of an information sheet answering in accessible fashion obvious questions that recipients might have regarding the questionnaire and the research project of which it was an integral part (Díaz de Rada, 2005: 64; Alreck and Settle, 1995: 144). Also noted here was the anticipated time expenditure required to complete the questionnaire based on pilot survey respondents' reported estimates (see Aldridge and Levine, 2001: 107[i]) and assurances that the data would be treated confidentially and any quotations used in the thesis or subsequent publications would be anonymous (Fink, 1995: 38).

The questionnaire 'proper' began on the following page with a section subtitled 'about you'. Following an instruction regarding the content of the section (which featured before all sections; Alreck and Settle, 1995: 160), personal information about the respondent was requested in addition to information regarding their current and past involvement in The BB, other youth organisations or as a Sunday school teacher. The page culminated in the thirteenth and most crucial question in this section: 'Why are you a BB leader?' It is no surprise that the textual layout of a questionnaire, and particularly the sequence of questions, affects the answers provided.

Here, however, more than in any other section, I deliberately deployed this knowledge. While it is clearly of interest whether respondents were members of The BB as young men, asking why they are a BB leader immediately after they answered this question would potentially provide participants with an 'easy' answer, and result in a series of responses along the lines of 'because I was in The BB as a boy', if they had been. Thus, in order to avoid leading questions – or, rather, leading sequences – re-direction was enlisted as a research tactic. Far from leading the respondent down one road, quick-fire questions 7 through 12 opened up a series of avenues before, perhaps now 'confused', the respondent had to answer that crucial open-ended question about why they volunteer as a BB leader.

Section two of the questionnaire shifted the focus from the respondent onto their Company. Through 11 questions, it gathered information about their Company (e.g., its meeting place, the sections it contained, the number of boys enrolled and average weekly attendance, the meeting night, the months of the year the Company is in operation, and whether they have a Bible Class, a band or make available a Club Room for their boys). The penultimate question requested information regarding the programme for the Company Section and encouraged participants to append extra sheets if this information was available in another form. The final question asked respondents to sketch the positions of the

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[i] Aldridge and Levine charge that; 'If we do [provide an estimate for how long a questionnaire will take to complete] we need to make sure that our estimate is accurate, or false reassurances will be counterproductive' (2001: 107). Pilot survey respondents' estimates were, then, adopted to ensure accuracy.

Company Section's leadership, membership and any other object of importance (e.g., tables, flags, lecterns) during the formal opening and close of the Company Section meeting. The inclusion of this question stemmed from research concerns surrounding the particular micro-geographies that sustain and support disciplinary practices and, ultimately, the maintenance of The BB Company as a disciplinary space (see CHAPTER SIX). This question did, however, cause a little uncertainty and was on 14 occasions left blank, and once responded to with a '?'. Indeed, in a later interview one individual highlighted her own confusion with this exercise commenting: 'I didn't understand that, I didn't understand that at all' (I 007). It is important to acknowledge this confusion; honesty being as important as transparency in attaching validity to the research findings herein.

Section three changed the scale of enquiry from the Company to the community within which it was situated. Through five questions, respondents were asked to select the community type (adapted from those used in the Scottish Church Census; see CHAPTER THREE) and to consider this community in terms of the challenges faced by young people within it, the contribution their Company made to it, the youth work provision it offered to young people and, if they considered this to be inadequate, to set out any needs not met. The final question asked respondents to rate the relationship between their Company and its community on a five-point scale (0-4) where 0 represented 'cold' and 4 'warm'. Descriptors

more often associated with the nature of a personal relationship were adopted to focus respondents' attention on the personal relationships that sustained the connection between their Company and its community (and in the following section church and Company and, finally, church and community). An opportunity to comment upon this relationship was then provided. These questions were designed with a view to 'triangulating' this information to situate each respondent's BB Company in local community and church networks. It is worth noting, however, that this analysis was subsequently omitted as the thesis was reshaped in response to other research findings. Noted above, the fourth section of the questionnaire concerned the Company and its church. The latter two questions previously mentioned were preceded by a question asking to which church their Company was attached[ii], and to which denomination this church belonged.

The penultimate section of the questionnaire sought to provide materials to fulfil The BB's Development Plan aim. It contained five questions requesting information concerning the support needs required from each level of The BB's structure (i.e., Battalion, Regional HQ,

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[ii] Article 8, paragraph b of *The Constitution of The Boys' Brigade* states that: 'Each Company shall be part of a Church or Christian organisation approved by the Brigade Executive. Such Church or Christian organisation shall be responsible for the Christian Education of the Company' (The Boys' Brigade, 2001: 1). It should be noted, however, that paragraphs c and d make provision for a Company to be attached to an 'institution, school, club' or in 'a difficult urban, or remote or isolated rural area' 'with the consent of the Brigade Executive' and 'provided that adequate arrangements are made for the Christian Education of its members' (*ibid.*).

National HQ), respondents' first port of call when seeking support, and their reflections on which of the aforementioned administrative levels they perceived the bulk of their support needs to rest with in future. In this section they were also required to rate both the level and quality of support presently received from each of the three 'support locations' on a five-point scale (0-4) where 0 represented 'unacceptable', 2 'satisfactory' and 4 'exceptional'.

Mirroring the format of earlier sections of the questionnaire where more challenging open-ended questions were preceded by requests for factual information, the final section, subtitled 'a final task', contained three questions prompting respondents to reflect upon The BB Object. These questions, introduced as the most challenging of the questionnaire, asked respondents to explain the Object, outline how they considered it was achieved, and reflect on its contemporary relevance. In short, it attempted to uncover their understanding and interpretation of a phrase which, unchanged since 1893, is considered the movement's core statement of purpose, and arguably, the key element contributing to its discursive construction (see CHAPTER FIVE).

The final page of the questionnaire conveyed thanks (Bourque and Fielder, 2003: 112; Alreck and Settle, 1995: 198) and offered the opportunity to request a synopsis of the thesis's findings and participate in later research phases: both the intended interviews and the ethnographic work in a local Company were highlighted.

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THE INTERVIEWS: QUESTION BY QUESTION

The first question was designed to put interviewees at ease. By asking them to reflect upon the challenges or changes experienced in their time as an Officer, they were on safe territory: it was personal experience that they were prompted to recall. The question also had a second aim; it served to highlight any issues not anticipated by subsequent questions in the guide. Following this question the interview could follow many paths: from the challenges of recent uniform changes, for instance, to the changes in young people over their period of service in their Companies. Discussion along these lines was pursued until it was deemed appropriate to return to the guide (though it should be noted that on occasion Officers' personal reflections dovetailed with research concerns and so the interview flowed from this initial question almost seamlessly into one of those on the interview guide).

Where transition was not seamless, the first question took the interviewee outwith the spaces of their Company on a weekday evening to explore the realisation of their Company at camp. Here some basic 'fact-finding' questions were asked first (e.g., do they camp?, where?, when?) before asking Officers to reflect upon possible values of this camping exercise. A similar question concerning parading usually followed, adopting the same format. These questions were asked first for two reasons. Firstly, the importance placed upon 'facts' in both served to continue the process of putting interviewees at their ease; and, secondly, in

focussing on *boys'* experiences did not make the interview 'too personal too quickly' before sufficient 'rapport' (Campbell, 2003: 290)[i] had been established (a process undoubtedly aided through the recollection of camp anecdotes often punctuated by (shared) laughter; Delph-Janiurek, 2001).

The first more challenging – and personal – question in the interview followed, and for the first time analysis of findings from the questionnaire was woven into the interview. Interviewees were informed, or reminded, of a question in the

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[i] Echoing Luff (1999), Delph-Janiurek's assertion that "rapport' is seldom actually defined' (2001: 416) prompts a pause here for reflection. While acknowledging (oft forceful) critiques of the process of rapport-building (see, e.g., Oakley, 1981) 'as a socialising and manipulative disposition designed to transform interviewees into passive, data-yielding machines' (Campbell, 2003: 290, paraphrasing Oakley, 1981), I do not adopt such a cynical approach (despite this clearly speaking to some (simplistic) Foucauldian understandings of docility already given theoretical credence [see CHAPTER TWO]). Instead, Glesne and Peshkin's description of rapport as a 'distance-reducing, anxiety-quieting, trust building mechanism that primarily serves the interests of the researcher' (1992: 94 quoted in Campbell, 2003: 290) most closely mirrors my own understanding. Not to acknowledge that each encounter served my own interests is naïve, but to suggest rapport is a device used for manipulation and engineering of the encounter is overly cynical and certainly does not chime with my own practice. Instead, I endeavoured to ensure the interview was a rewarding experience for the interviewee, worthy of personal expenditure of time. To this end, I felt it essential that in order for shared understandings to emerge, a conscious attempt should be made on my part to make the encounter as friendly and relaxed as possible, avoiding confrontation while not shying from critical reflection. And while this still leaves the door open to criticism that, as this was conducted within the confines of an interview, distance was introduced by establishing a research-researched relationship, there is undoubtedly an expectation that this will be established in each encounter on the part of the interviewee given their own understandings of how interviews are 'supposed' to work, particularly given the ascendancy of an 'interview society' (Silverman, 1993). Indeed, there may even be a desire to participate in this more formal encounter as it engenders a feeling of having participated in 'research'.

questionnaire which asked why they were a BB leader. The same question was asked to interviewees here, and once their answer had been shared, a sheet with the top five answers from questionnaire respondents was handed to each interviewee and explanation given regarding how these answers had been derived (i.e., each was a quote from one respondent which typified the other responses along similar lines, the resulting five top answers being ranked according to frequency; see also CHAPTER THREE). Interviewees were then asked with which of the answers they sympathised. Further follow-up questions were then posed in response to answers given.

Once conversation had been exhausted on this topic another questionnaire follow-up task was introduced. The Object was presented on a sheet of paper chopped up into a series of boxes (see CHAPTER FIVE). Interviewees were then requested to move through the Object as presented and to reflect upon the meanings that they attached to its component parts. Again, responding to the direction of the ensuing discussion additional *ad hoc* questions were asked.

The third and final task drawing upon questionnaire findings drew interviewees back into the spaces of their Company on a weekday meeting night. Here, the rationale behind the adoption of particular spatial formations at the formal start and end of the evening was the focus of enquiry. Interviewees were reminded of the sketching activity in the questionnaire, and the confusion surrounding it which emerged as the interview process unfolded was

acknowledged. In the 21 cases where the interviewee had completed the questionnaire, a computer generated diagram of the formations adopted was provided as a visual prompt. And here interviewees frequently talked through their use of a particular formation by pointing and illustrating movement within the static image. Following this discussion of *rationale*, the sheet was used to spark a conversation about the various *relationships* between the individuals visually represented (e.g., boys with other Officers, boys with the Captain, boys with other boys). Finally, the specific *roles* of each individual (or group of individuals, e.g., NCOs, Officers) was asked about. Before bringing this task to a close, interviewees were presented with a further two sheets that placed their own formation at the start and end within the context of the others questionnaire respondents reported. Viewing these alternative formations, ranked in order of frequency (see Figure 1), prompted further discussion about how the interviewees perceived their own formation to 'work' when set against the others and often encouraged them to reflect upon whether they could actually operate 'as well' by adopting another formation. It was considered vital to report these findings not only as a further prompt for discussion but also to ensure that the interview process provided a potential learning experience: intricacies of the running of a Company were frequently found to be of interest to the audience.

The penultimate question also proved to be the most pessimistic. Indeed, after

three interviews as the final question it was replaced in order to ensure each encounter ended on a more optimistic note. Interviewees were presented with a graph illustrating the decline in BB membership since 1980, the scale of the x-axis projected to 2020[ii]. A question mark hovered at the tail end of the line (see Figure 2). In each case the graph was simply presented to each interviewee and they were asked for their first thoughts on seeing the image. From this point conversation took many turns; from whether they felt the trend would continue in the future, to the reasons for past decline. It should be noted, however, that analysis of this activity was subsequently squeezed out of the structure of the thesis.

The final question asked interviewees to reflect upon the feelings and emotions which stirred as they approached the door of their Company's premises before a BB meeting and, again, after the boys had left and they were locking the door to return home. In some cases this revealed more details of the operation of the Companies (e.g., staff meetings after boys had left). For others it prompted reminiscences of past happenings in the Company and, for some, a hint of reverie (see CHAPTER EIGHT).

Following this question the encounter was brought to a close by offering thanks to the interviewees for their time, a courtesy sometimes returned because the interviewer had challenged the interviewee to think about

their own practice or provided 'food for thought'. At this point interviewees often took the opportunity to pose questions to me, not only concerning the research being conducted but also my involvement in the movement (see Campbell, 2003: 296). Conversations frequently continued after the tape had been switched off; and, indeed, this proved to be one of the advantages of the tape recorder's use: not only did it facilitate transcription, but the act of switching off the device at the end of each interview often elicited insightful 'off the record' remarks (see also Gerson and Horowitz, 2002: 215) that were woven into analysis as contextualising and sensitising materials.


[ii] Though I clearly manipulated this image to stir feelings of possible future decline (e.g., through positioning of the question mark, or, changing the scale to produce a steeper curve) the recent decline is a self-evident fact, and one with which Officers are aware. In this respect the graph is not considered duplicitous.
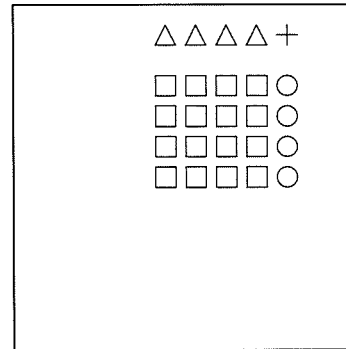
Figure 1 Start Configurations
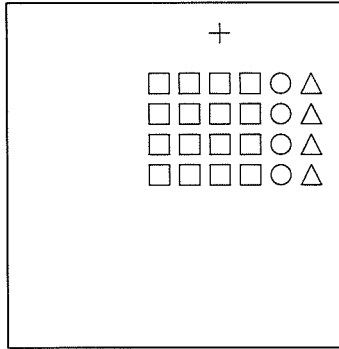
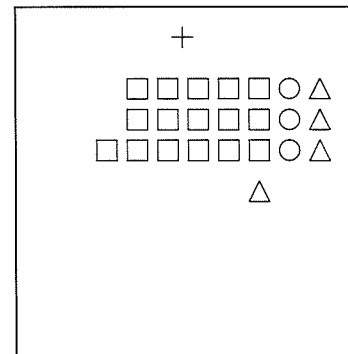
1. Officers beside squads (33)
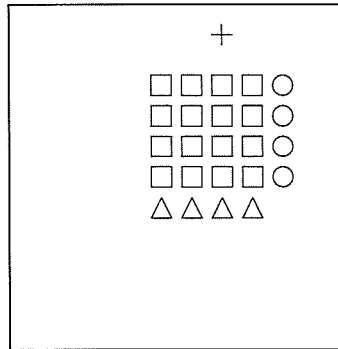
2. Officers behind squads (23)

3. Officers at front (17)

4. No answer given (11)

5. Other configurations (7)

6. Cross between 1. and 2. (5)
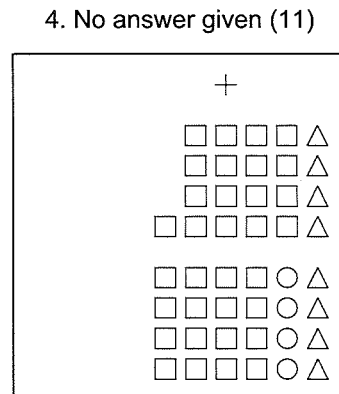
7. Both JS and CS present (4)
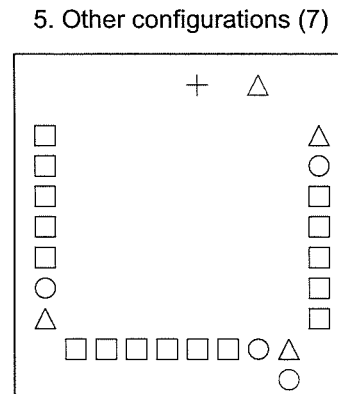
8. 'Enclosed' officer (3)
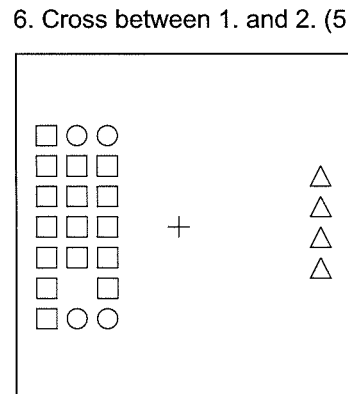
9. No squads (2)
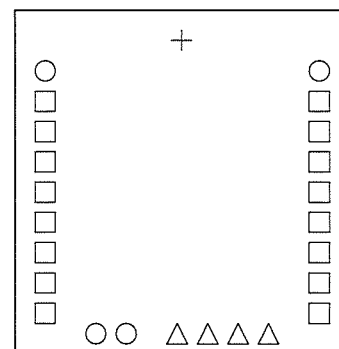
10. Two columns (2)
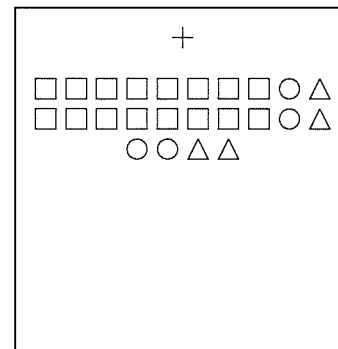
11. NCOs behind squads (2)

12. No formal start (2)

Key
+   Captain
△   Other Officer
○   NCO
□   Boy

Figure 1 Contd. End Configurations

1. No formal end (22)

2. Officers beside squads (19)

3. Officers behind squads (19)

4. No answer given (13)

5. Officers at front (12)

6. No squads (10)

7. Other configurations (6)

8. 'Enclosed' officer (3)

9. Cross between 2. and 3. (2)

10. Both JS and CS present (2)

11. Two columns (2)

12. NCOs behind squads (1)

Key
+ Captain
△ Other Officer
○ NCO
□ Boy

Figure 2 United Kingdom Total Boy Membership, 1980-2020

APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS / INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

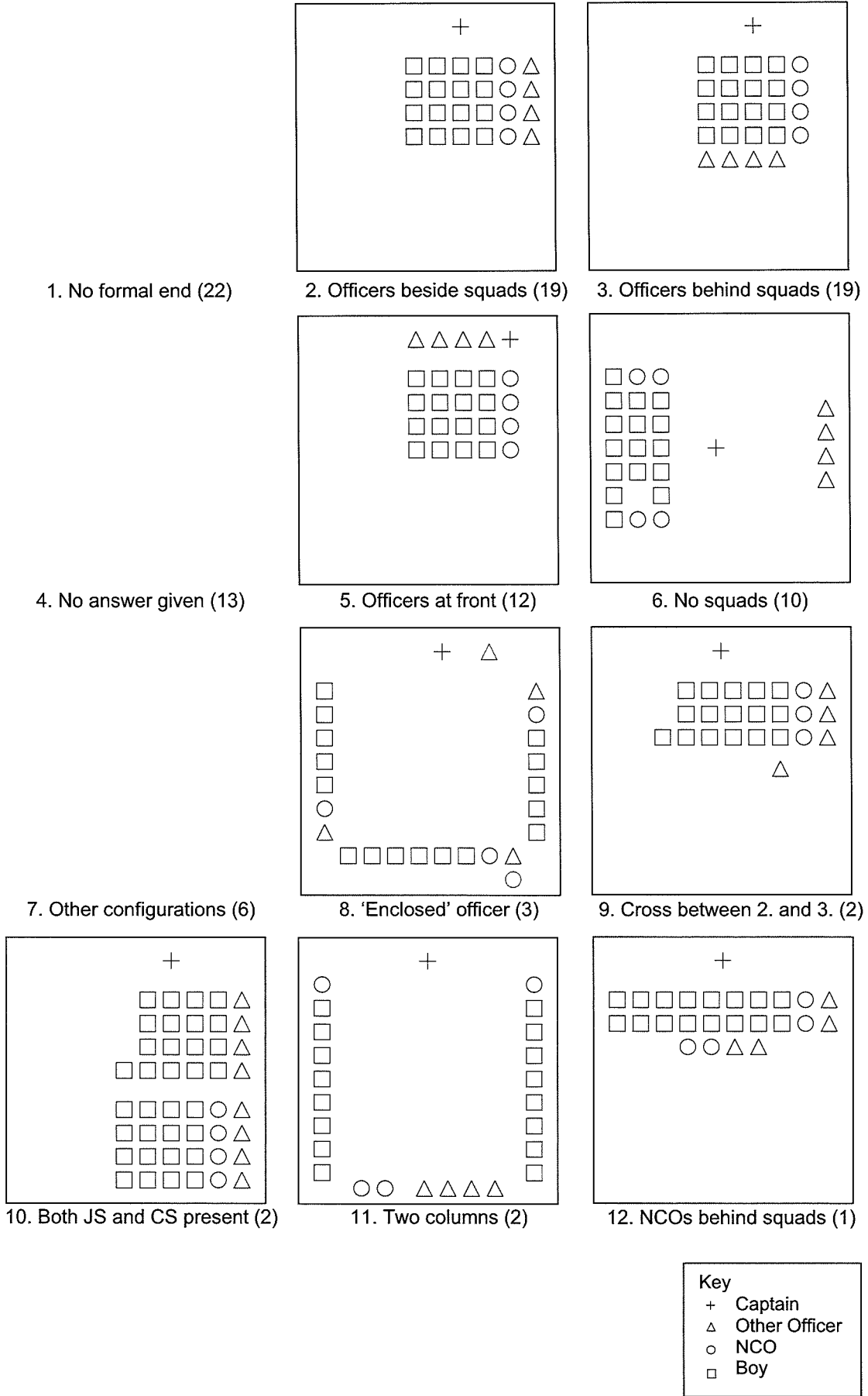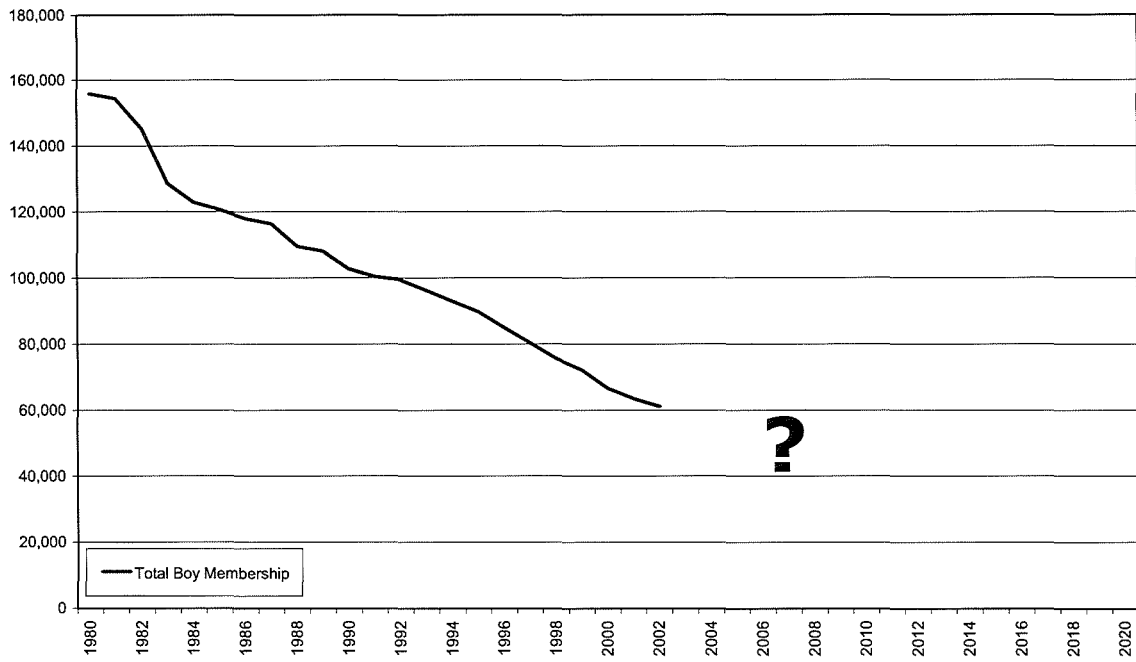| Questionnaire ID	Sex	Rank	Age	Community Type	Interview ID
00001	M	Captain	53	Rural: Other Areas	
00002	M	Captain	48	Town	
00003	M	Captain	59	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	021
00004	F	Lieutenant	37	--	
00005	M	Captain	45	Town	011
00006	M	Lieutenant	32	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00007	M	Captain	51	Suburban	
00008	M	Captain	40	City Centre	
00009	M	Lieutenant	38	Town	
00010	M	Captain	48	Urban Priority Area	
00011	M	Captain	64	Town	
00012	M	Captain	56	New Town	
00013	M	Captain	43	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00014	M	Lieutenant	53	Urban Priority Area	006
00015	M	Captain	65	Rural: Other Areas	
00016	M	Captain	41	City Centre	
00017	M	Captain	48	Town	023
00018	M	Captain	47	Town	014
00019	M	Captain	58	Rural: Other Areas	
00020	M	Captain	35	Urban Priority Area	
00021	M	Captain	53	Urban Priority Area	009
00022	M	Captain	35	Housing Scheme	022
00023	M	Lieutenant	25	Housing Scheme	
00024	M	Captain	54	Rural: Other Areas	
00025	M	Captain	58	Suburban	005
00026	M	Captain	70	Town	
00027	F	Lieutenant	55	Town	
00028	M	Captain	49	Town	
00029	M	Captain	47	Town	010
00030	M	Captain	30	Housing Scheme	
00031	M	Captain	51	--	
00032	M	Captain	63	Urban Priority Area	
00033	M	Captain	46	Town	
00034	M	Captain	46	Suburban	
00035	M	Captain	39	Housing Scheme	
00036	M	Captain	43	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00037	M	Captain	62	Rural: Other Areas	
00038	M	Captain	59	Town	
00039	M	Captain	46	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00040	M	Captain	47	Housing Scheme	
00041	M	Captain	57	Urban Priority Area	
00042	F	Captain	52	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00043	M	Captain	43	Suburban	
00044	F	Captain	76	Urban Priority Area	
00045	M	Captain	55	Suburban	
00046	M	Captain	53	Town	
00047	M	Captain	53	Housing Scheme	
00048	M	Captain	49	Town	
00049	F	(Acting) Captain	51	Housing Scheme	
00050	M	Captain	40	Suburban	
00051	M	Lieutenant	49	New Town	
00052	M	Captain	53	Housing Scheme	
00053	M	Captain	49	Town	
00054	M	Captain	27	City Centre	008
00055	M	Captain	37	Urban Priority Area	
00056	M	Captain	43	New Town	
00057	M	Captain	52	Suburban	
00058	M	Captain	60	City Centre	
00059	M	Captain	31	Suburban	

00060	M	Captain	46	Urban Priority Area	024
00061	M	Captain	61	Rural: Other Areas	
00062	F	Captain	50	Town	
00063	M	Captain	36	Town	
00064	M	Lieutenant	36	Housing Scheme	
00065	M	Captain	47	Town	
00066	M	Captain	51	Suburban	
00067	M	Captain	44	Town	018
00068	M	(Acting) Captain	65	Town	
00069	M	Captain	36	Town	
00070	M	Captain	58	Town	
00071	M	Captain	37	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00072	M	Lieutenant	59	Suburban	
00073	F	Captain	45	--	
00074	M	Captain	51	Suburban	
00075	M	Lieutenant	56	New Town	
00076	M	Captain	30	Suburban	002
00077	M	Captain	45	New Town	
00078	F	Lieutenant	42	--	004
00079	M	Captain	58	Town	
00080	M	Captain	43	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00081	M	Lieutenant	32	Suburban	
00082	M	Lieutenant	61	Housing Scheme	
00083	M	Captain	37	Town	
00084	M	Captain	52	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	017
00085	M	Captain	44	Housing Scheme	
00086	F	Captain	56	Town	
00087	M	Captain	43	Housing Scheme	
00088	M	Captain	57	Rural: Other Areas	
00089	F	Captain	42	Rural: Other Areas	
00090	M	Captain	23	Town	
00091	M	Captain	64	Suburban	003
00092	M	Lieutenant	25	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00093	F	Captain	61	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00094	M	Captain	48	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00095	M	Captain	44	Suburban	
00096	M	Captain	36	Town	
00097	M	Captain	41	Town	
00098	F	Lieutenant	--	City Centre	
00099	M	Captain	62	Rural: Other Areas	
00100	M	Captain	52	Town	
00101	M	Captain	40	Suburban	
00102	M	Captain	59	Housing Scheme	
00103	M	Captain	57	Suburban	
00104	M	Captain	59	Housing Scheme	
00105	M	Captain	38	Town	016
00106	F	Lieutenant	59	Suburban	007
00107	M	Captain	48	Rural: Commuter/Dormitory Area	
00108	M	Captain	47	Town	
00109	M	Captain	63	Rural: Other Areas	
00110	M	Lieutenant	46	Housing Scheme	
00111	M	--	--	Town	
00112	M	Captain	36	Town	
00113	M	Captain	26	Rural: Other Areas	

Notes:
1. -- indicates respondent withheld data.
2. Profiles for the remaining six interviewees:

M	Captain	32	Suburban	001
M	Captain	--	--	012
M	Captain	33	Housing Scheme	013

M	Lieutenant	--	--	015
M	Captain	66	Town	019
M	Lieutenant	--	--	020

Moral Landscapes of the Boys' Brigade in Scotland
Information for you to keep: *for Young People*

Who am I?

I am a Geography student at Glasgow University doing a Ph.D. To get a Ph.D. you have to do some research on something you find interesting – much like an investigation or project at school. Once I've finished it I have to write a long report on what I did and what I found out.

What is my project about?

I want to try to understand the importance of the BB to your everyday lives, what you think of the BB and what you do when you get to BB on a Thursday night. I am also trying to understand what you think the BB means to you, particularly in relation to other places like parks, the street or other youth clubs you travel to or hang out with friends in. Another part of my project will ask the leaders of your company why they provide the BB for you.

Why have you been asked to take part?

If I'm interested in what young people like you think about the BB I'm going to have to involve you in the project! The BB is, after all, *your* space, so I'm interested in what *you* do in it.

What will you have to do?

At the start of the research period, not much really; I'll be there just watching what is going on and taking notes. You can just act as if I'm not even there! Later on in the project though I'm going to turn the research over to you. I'll give some of you a video camera so that you can record what you want to during a BB evening. The next week we can watch the video and together see if we can work out what is going on. Once you have finished the video I'll give you a copy of it on a CD so that you can keep it and play it on your computer. I'll use the video at conferences or in my report to show other people what goes on in a BB company. At no time though will I tell anyone who you are. You can, of course, withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

You **will** have to get your parents permission if you want to take part. They will be getting an information sheet just like this one and they will be asked if they want you to participate. I'll also ask you to sign a form if you want to take part and your parents say it's ok for you to do so. You do not have to take part if you don't want to.

What will I do with the information once I have it?

Remember that long report? As well as this I will probably write a few reports for academic journals (which are just like a magazine only with less pictures and a lot more big words!). Anything you say while the study is taking place will be treated in confidence; I won't tell anyone your name and it won't be printed anywhere, nor will anybody be able to identify you.

Who can I contact if I have any questions?

If you have any questions you can contact me on the address below or why not write an e-mail to rkyle@geog.gla.ac.uk.

Richard G. Kyle
Department of Geography and Geomatics
University of Glasgow
Glasgow
G12 8QQ

Moral Landscapes of the Boys' Brigade in Scotland
Information for you to keep: *for Parents/Guardians*

Who am I?

I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of Geography and Geomatics at the University of Glasgow. My research is funded by *Urban Studies* – a well-respected academic journal.

What is the project about?

My research aims to understand what the BB means to your child. I am particularly interested in the importance your child attaches to it as one of the many places they regularly go. It seeks to understand, not only what young people do in the hall (or other similar space) during the course of a BB meeting, but also the motivation behind the provision of a BB company by adults.

Why has my child been asked to participate?

As a central part of the project is to understand how children and young people use the space of the BB I am interested in finding out how your child uses their BB company and its activities.

What's involved?

An **observational study** will be conducted. Over the course of a few weeks I will observe the activities ongoing in your child's BB company. At the close of this study there will be an opportunity for your child to actively participate in the research. In a group of their peers they will video record a BB evening. The subsequent tape will provide the stimulus for a discussion with your child and their peers. The purpose of this discussion will be to arrive at a *shared* understanding of what is *actually* happening during the course of a BB evening. This tape may be transferred onto a computer so that I can duplicate the tape and give your child a copy on CD-ROM. This will also allow me to use still images in my thesis and other reports or portions of the video at conferences. Only I have access to the computer (which is password protected and is not part of a network or connected to the internet). Tapes and CD-ROMS will be stored securely in a safe at all times. BB Headquarters staff at Carronvale House, Larbert have been consulted on the use of this method and are happy with its use as set out here. Your child is, of course, free to opt out of the study at any time and does not have to give a reason for doing so.

What will my child's responses be used for?

All your child's responses will be treated in strict confidence; their name will not appear in the thesis nor in any subsequent publications which report on the research. The research is primarily for academic use and in addition to the Ph.D. thesis may appear as written papers in academic journals. Although I am actively involved in the BB it should be stressed that the research is in no way associated with the organisation; information will **always** remain confidential and anonymous and no direct benefit will accrue to either your child or the organisation itself.

Who can I contact for more information?

In the first instance you should contact me;

Richard G. Kyle
Department of Geography and Geomatics
University of Glasgow
Glasgow
G12 8QQ

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Should you require further assurance my supervisor (Dr. Joanne P. Sharp) can be contacted at the same address or by e-mailing jsharp@geog.gla.ac.uk.

Moral Landscapes of the Boys' Brigade in Scotland
Information for you to keep: *for Company Captains*

Who am I?

I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of Geography and Geomatics at the University of Glasgow. My research is funded by *Urban Studies* – a well-respected academic journal.

What is the project about?

My research aims to understand the importance of the BB in young people's everyday lives, and importantly, geographies. It seeks to understand, not only what young people do in the hall (or other similar space) during the course of a BB meeting, but also the motivation behind the provision of a BB company by adults.

Why have you been asked to participate?

As a company captain you are responsible for the activities ongoing in your company. As I wish to conduct research within your company I am seeking your consent to do so.

What will you have to do?

An **observational study** will be conducted. Over the course of a few weeks I will observe the activities ongoing in your BB Company. I will mainly be looking at how the space is organised by the leadership and how it is used by the young people. With your permission, at the close of this study there will be an opportunity for the young people in your company to participate in some of their own research. In a group of their peers they will video record a BB evening. The subsequent tape will provide the stimulus for a discussion amongst the boys in order to understand the actions of the boys during the BB evening. This tape may be transferred onto a computer so that I can duplicate the tape and give each boy a copy on CD-ROM. This will also allow me to use still images in my thesis and other reports or portions of the video at conferences. Only I have access to the computer (which is password protected and is not part of a network or connected to the internet). Tapes and CD-ROMS will be stored securely in a safe at all times. BB Headquarters staff at Carronvale House, Larbert have been consulted on the use of this method and are happy with its use as set out here. The boys can, of course, withdraw from the study at any time without needing to give a reason for doing so.

What will the responses be used for?

All responses will be treated in strict confidence; your name will not appear in the thesis nor in any subsequent publications which report on the research nor will those of your leaders or boys. The research is primarily for academic use and in addition to the PhD thesis may appear as written papers in academic journals. Although I am actively involved in the BB it should be stressed that the research is in no way associated with the organisation; information will **always** remain confidential and anonymous and no direct benefit will accrue to yourself, your company, or the organisation itself.

Who can I contact for more information?

In the first instance you should contact me;

Richard G. Kyle
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Should you require further assurance my supervisor (Dr. Joanne P. Sharp) can be contacted at the same address or by e-mailing jsharp@geog.gla.ac.uk.

e-mail: rkyle@geog.gla.ac.uk

Table

Graph

Table 1 Sex of questionnaire respondents

	n	%
Male (M)	100	88.50
Female (F)	13	11.50
	113	100.00

Table 2 Rank of respondents

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Captain	86	86.87	7	53.85	93	83.04
Lieutenant	12	12.12	5	38.46	17	15.18
(Acting) Captain	1	1.01	1	7.69	2	1.79
	99	100.00	13	100.00	112	100.00

Note: one respondent did not answer this question.

Table 3 Percentage of respondents holding other BB 'offices'

	n	%	No. of 'Offices' held	n	%
Yes	49	43.75	1	31	63.27
No	63	56.25	2	12	24.49
	112	100.00	3	5	10.20
			4	0	0
			5	1	2.04
				49	100.00

Note: one respondent did not answer this question.

Table 4 Offices held by questionnaire respondents

	n	%
1. Battalion Executive Member	11	14.67
2. Battalion Committee Member	7	9.34
3. District Convenor (Glasgow Battalion)	4	5.34
4. Battalion President	3	4.00
5. Battalion Vice-President	3	4.00
6. Battalion Training Officer	3	4.00
7. Battalion Training Convenor	3	4.00
8. Battalion Adjutant	2	2.67
9. Battalion Treasurer	2	2.67
10. Battalion World Mission Fund Representative	2	2.67
11. Queen's Badge Advisor	2	2.67
12. Battalion Secretary	2	2.67
13. Honorary Battalion Secretary	1	1.33
14. Battalion Duke of Edinburgh's Award Convenor	1	1.33
15. Duke of Edinburgh's Award Adviser	1	1.33
16. Battalion Anchor Boy Chairperson	1	1.33
17. Battalion Junior Section Chairperson	1	1.33
18. Battalion Company Section Chairperson	1	1.33
19. Brigade Training Officer	1	1.33
20. Battalion Executive Chairperson	1	1.33
21. Battalion Executive Finance Committee Member	1	1.33
22. Battalion Finance Committee Chairperson	1	1.33
23. Battalion Supplies Manager	1	1.33
24. Battalion Area Representative	1	1.33
25. Battalion Company Section Secretary	1	1.33
26. Battalion Company Section Physical Education Organiser	1	1.33
27. Battalion Drill Convenor	1	1.33
28. Battalion Volleyball Convenor	1	1.33
29. Battalion Football Convenor	1	1.33
30. Battalion Christian Education Convenor	1	1.33
31. Battalion Table Tennis/Unihoc Convenor	1	1.33
32. Battalion Events Co-ordinator	1	1.33
33. Scotland Committee Member	1	1.33
34. Joint Management Committee Minute Secretary	1	1.33
35. Area Training Co-ordinator	1	1.33
36. Battalion Long-time Training Officer	1	1.33
37. Brigade Executive Member	1	1.33
38. Battalion Council Member	1	1.33
39. Camp Commanding Officer	1	1.33
40. Anonymised (see note)	4	5.34
	75	99.95

Note: in order to ensure respondent anonymity four responses have been omitted from the above list as only one of each of these posts exists within The Boys' Brigade in Scotland.

Table 5 Boy Membership?

	n	%
Yes	89	89.90
No	10	10.10
	99	100.00

Note: (1) one respondent did not answer this question; (2) for the thirteen females who completed the questionnaire membership is not possible.

Table 6 Unbroken membership?

	n	%
Yes	63	70.79
No	26	29.21
	89	100.00

Table 7 Reasons provided for respondents leaving The Boys' Brigade

	n	%
1. Work commitments	7	28.00
2. Lost interest	4	16.00
3. University	2	8.00
4. Didn't like it/officers	2	8.00
5. Company folded	1	4.00
6. Girlfriend	1	4.00
7. National service	1	4.00
8. Ill health	1	4.00
9. No senior section	1	4.00
10. Bullying	1	4.00
11. Pals went to Scouts so joined	1	4.00
12. Moved away	1	4.00
13. Day didn't suit	1	4.00
14. Family felt I wouldn't enjoy Company Section	1	4.00
	25	100.00

Note: one respondent answered 'long story'. This has been excluded as it does not provide a reason for leaving.

Table 8 Membership of other youth organisations as young men/women

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Yes	14	14.43	11	84.61	25	22.73
No	83	85.57	2	15.39	85	77.27
	97	100.00	13	100.00	110	100.00

Note: three respondents did not answer this question.

Table 9 Youth organisations which female respondents were members of as young women

	n	%
1. Guide Association	7	63.64
2. Girls' Brigade/Guildry	3	27.27
3. Youth Club	1	9.09
	11	100.00

Table 10 Youth organisations which respondents were members of as young men/women

	n	%
1. Scout Association	8	32.00
2. Guide Association	7	28.00
3. Girls' Brigade/Guildry	3	12.00
4. Youth Club	1.167	4.67
5. Youth Fellowship	1.167	4.67
6. Boys' Club	1	4.00
7. Youth For Christ	1	4.00
8. Army Cadets	1	4.00
9. Guild of Youth	1	4.00
10. Junior Choir	0.167	0.67
11. Sunday School	0.167	0.67
12. Bible Class	0.167	0.67
13. Young Worshipper's League	0.167	0.67
	25	100.00

Note: one respondent listed membership of six separate organisations, so response 'value' (1) has been divided by six and assigned to the relevant category.

Table 11 Number of respondents currently a leader in another youth organisation

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Yes	8	8.08	0	0	8	7.14
No	91	91.92	13	100	104	92.86
	99	100.00	13	100	112	100.00

Note: one respondent did not answer this question.

Table 12 Youth organisations in which respondents are currently leaders

	n	%
1. Girls' Brigade	1	14.29
2. Youth Church	1	14.29
3. Swimming Club	1	14.29
4. Drama Group	1	14.29
5. Church Youth Group	1	14.29
6. Lazer Group	1	14.29
7. Golf Club	1	14.29
	7	100.00

Note: one respondent answered 'church bible class'. This has been excluded as it duplicates a later response asking about Sunday school involvement. The respondent answered yes to this later question.

Table 13 Number of leaders who have ever been a leader in another youth organisation

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Yes	18	18.37	6	46.15	24	21.62
No	80	81.63	7	53.85	87	78.38
	98	100.00	13	100.00	111	100.00

Note: two respondents did not answer this question.

Table 14 Youth organisations in which respondents have ever been leaders

	n	%
1. (Church/LEA) Youth Group/Club	9	37.50
2. Youth Fellowship	3	12.50
3. Girls' Brigade	2	8.33
4. Scout Association	2	8.33
5. Youth For Christ	1	4.17
6. Youth & Community Worker	1	4.17
7. Covenanters	1	4.17
8. Guide Association	1	4.17
9. Drama Group	1	4.17
10. Community Education Project	1	4.17
11. Army Cadets	1	4.17
12. Shipmates (precursor to Anchor Boys)	1	4.17
	24	100.00

Table 15 Youth organisations in which female respondents have ever been leaders

	n	%
1. Girls' Brigade	2	33.33
2. Guide Association	1	16.67
3. Youth Fellowship	1	16.67
4. Church Youth Group	1	16.67
5. Shipmates (precursor to Anchor Boys)	1	16.67
	6	100.00

Table 16 Number of respondents currently a Sunday school teacher

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Yes	5	5.05	3	23.08	8	7.14
No	94	94.95	10	76.92	104	92.86
	99	100.00	13	100.00	112	100.00

Note: one respondent did not answer this question.

Table 17 Number of respondents who have ever been a Sunday school teacher

	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Yes	31	31.31	8	61.54	39	34.82
No	68	68.69	5	38.46	73	65.18
	99	100.00	13	100.00	112	100.00

Note: one respondent did not answer this question.

Table 18 Number of companies operating each 'Section'

	n	%
1. Anchor Boys	104	93.69
2. Junior Section	108	97.30
3. Company Section	98	88.29
4. Senior Section	54	48.65

Note: One of the 54 Senior Sections reported is an AMICUS group. It should also be noted that if one includes those companies which reported that they did not run a separate Senior Section but that it is incorporated into the Company Section the figures reported above for the Senior Section change to 66 and 58.56%, respectively.

Table 19 Average number of boys per Section

Enrolled					Average Attendance				
AB	JS	CS	SS	Total	AB	JS	CS	SS	Total
18	19	18	6	54	16	17	16	5	47

Note: (1) caution should be exercised when reading this table as seven respondents included statistics for the number of Seniors with those of the Company Section. This would have the effect of inflating the total number of boys in the Company Section and deflating the total number of Seniors; (2) it should also be noted that the totals presented above are not totals for the numbers presented to their left but instead the overall averages (i.e. total boys in each company divided by the number of companies providing statistics, multiplied by 100).

Table 20 BB session operated by questionnaire respondents

Session Begins	n	%	Session Ends:	n	%
August	39	35.78	March	3	2.75
September	69	63.30	April	14	12.84
October	1	0.92	May	68	62.39
	109	100.00	June	17	15.60
			July	7	6.42
				109	100.00

Note: total companies equals 109 as two companies operate all year and thus have no start or end date.

Table 21 Number of companies represented which operate a bible class

	n	%	Meeting day	n	%
Yes	53	47.75	Sunday (BB Bible Class)	13	23.64
No	58	52.25	Sunday (Church Bible Class)	5	9.09
	111	100.00	Thursday	1	1.82
			Friday	2	3.64
			Part of evening programme	34	61.82
				55	100.00

Note: (1) Figures calculated by cross-referencing Company Section meeting night/time with bible class meeting night/time. (2) Two companies have two weekly meetings, hence total is 55.

## Table 22 Number of companies represented which operate a club/boys' room

	n	%	Day(s) open	n	%
Yes	24	21.62	Sunday	5	12.20
No	87	78.38	Monday	4	9.76
	111	100.00	Tuesday	7	17.07
			Wednesday	6	14.63
			Thursday	7	17.07
			Friday	7	17.07
			Saturday	5	12.20
				41	100.00

Note: the total number of days (41) does not correlate with the number of companies who operate club/boys' rooms as some companies open their club/boys' room on more than one day during the week.

Table 23 Number of companies represented which operate a band

	n	%	Band Type	n	%
Yes	24	21.62	Bugle	9	37.50
No	87	78.38	Pipe	3	12.50
	111	100.00	Flute	2	8.33
			Pipe/Bugle	2	8.33
			Pipe/Drum	2	8.33
			Silver	1	4.17
			Brass	1	4.17
			Trumpet	1	4.17
			Drum corp.	1	4.17
			Cornet/Drum	1	4.17
			Fife/Drum	1	4.17
				24	100.00

Graph 1 Age profile of questionnaire respondents
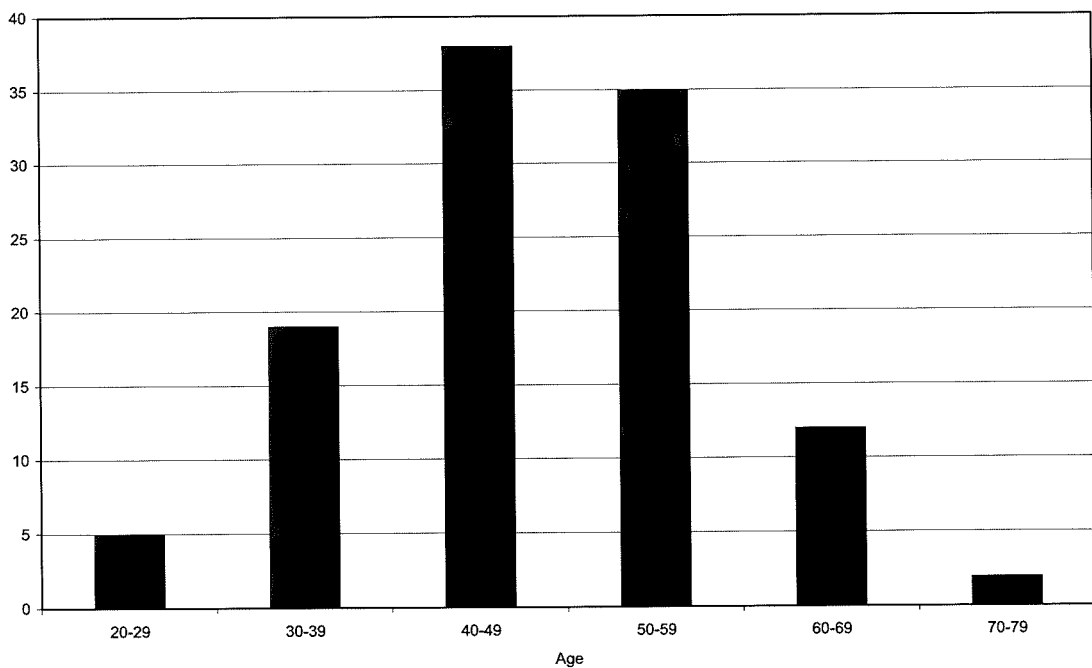
Note: two respondents did not answer this question.

Graph 2 Length of service of questionnaire respondents
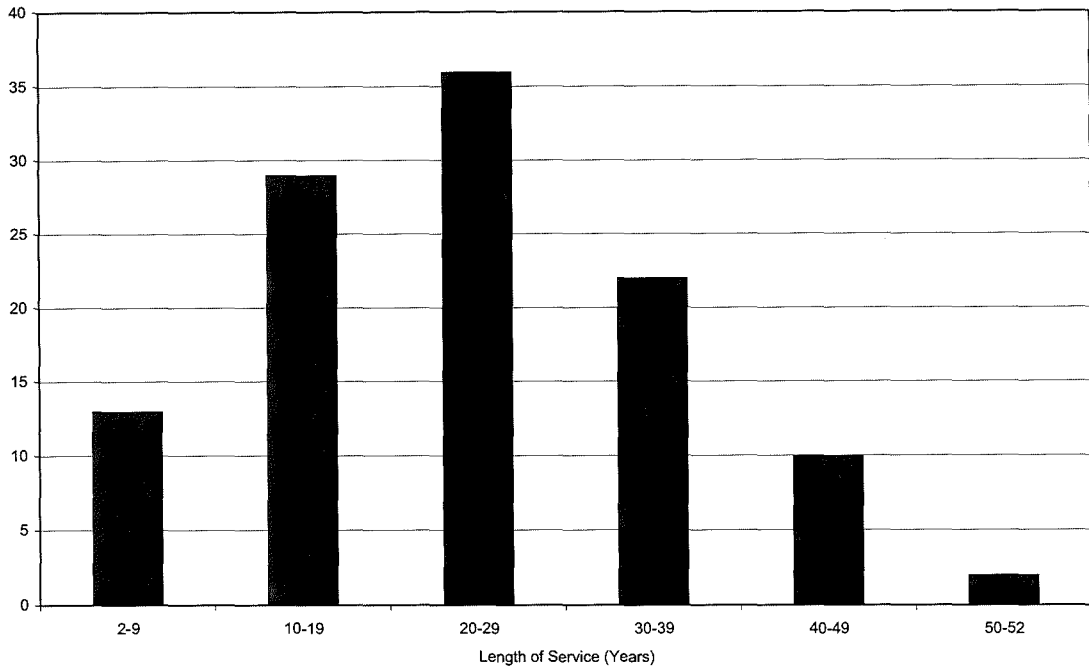
Note: one respondent did not answer this question.

Graph 3 Age at which respondents first joined The Boys' Brigade
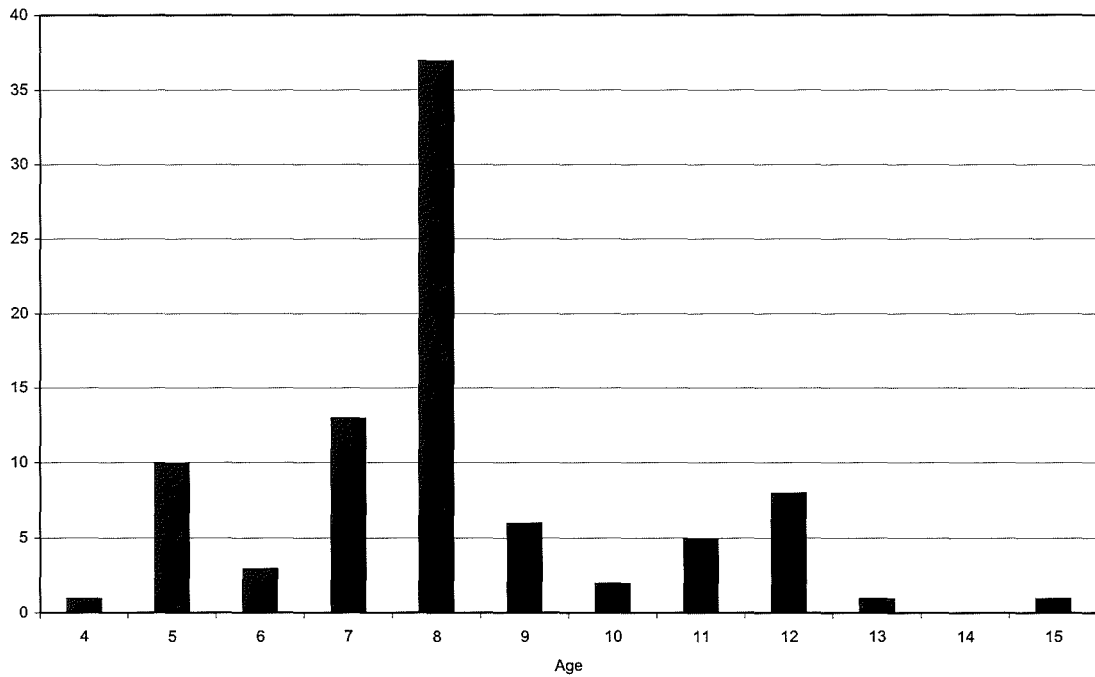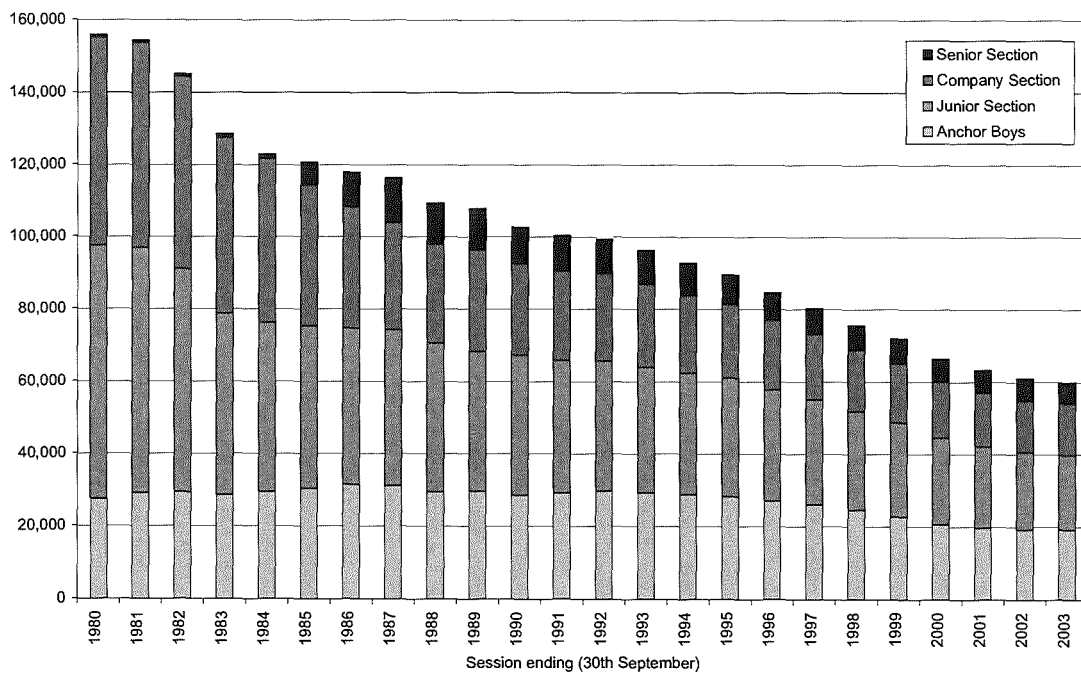

Note: two respondents did not answer this question.

Graph 4 Age at which respondents left The Boys' Brigade
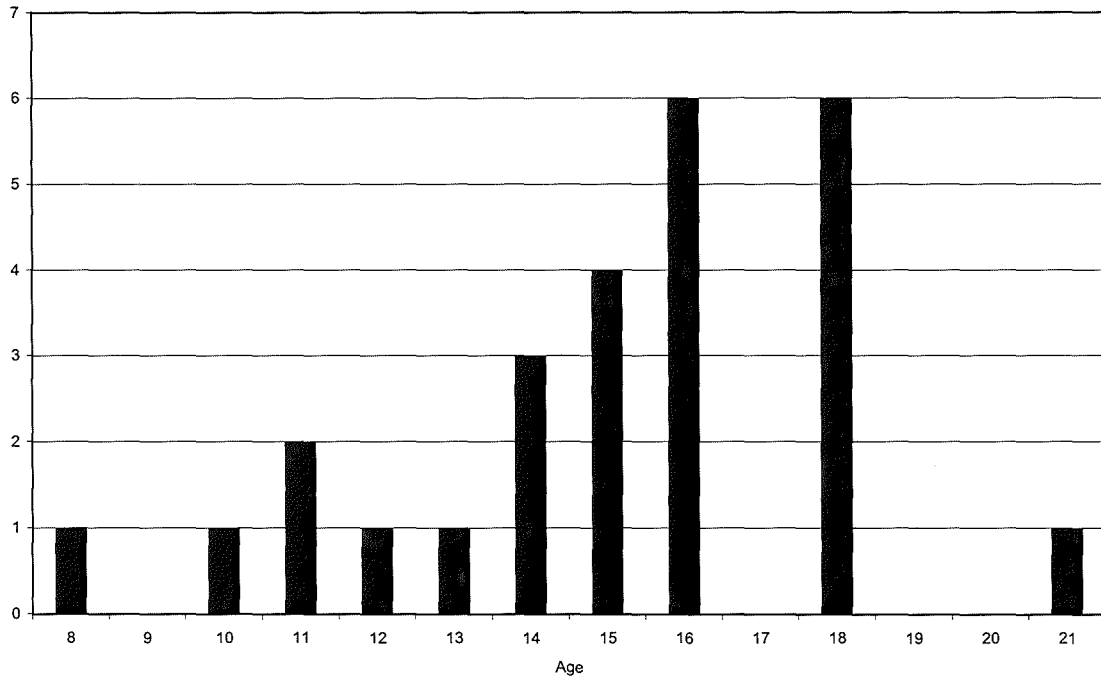
Note: all 26 respondents who left The Boys' Brigade before becoming leaders completed this question.
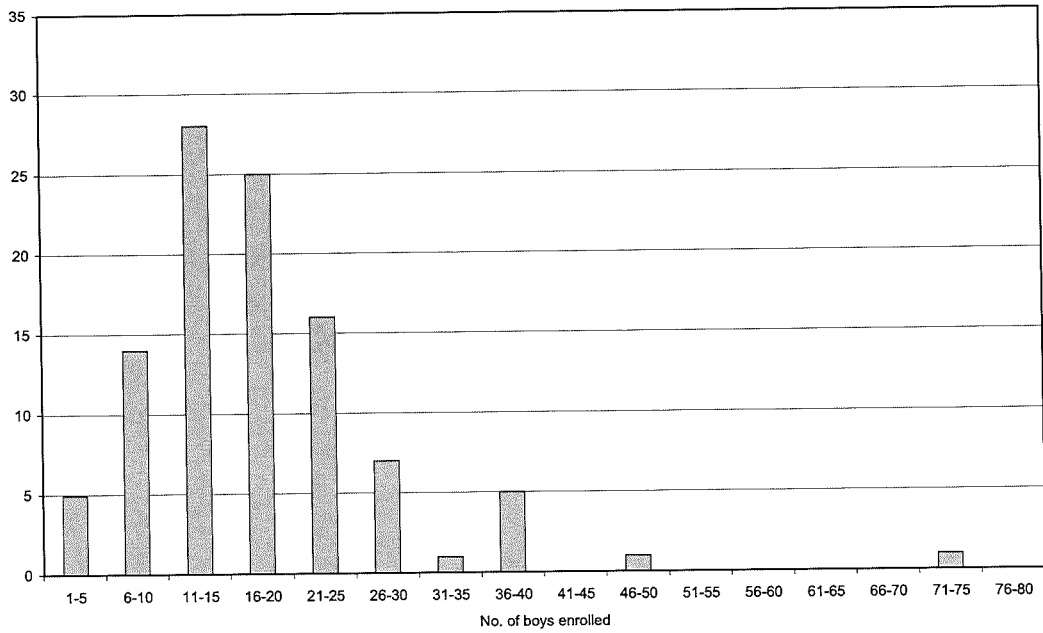
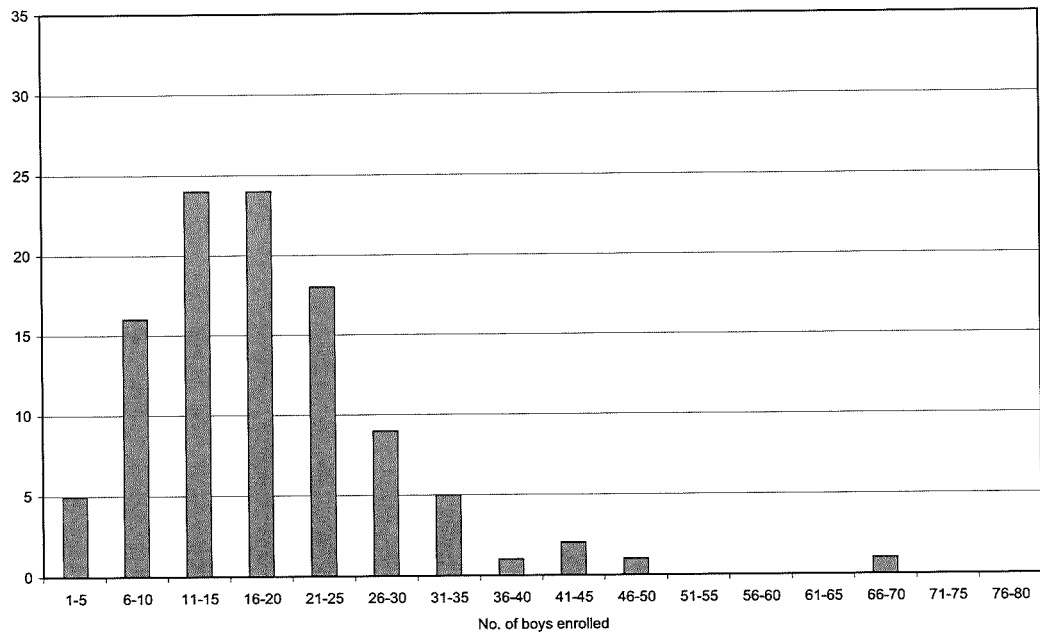Graph 5 The Boys' Brigade United Kingdom strength, 1980-2003

Source: The Boys' Brigade Annual Reports, 1980-2003.

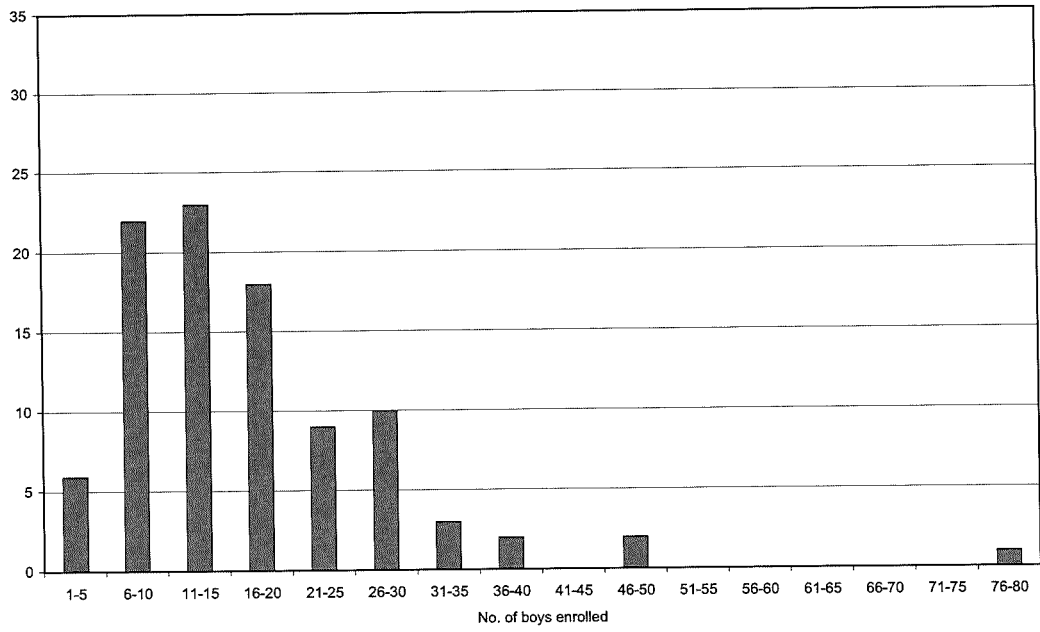## Graph 6 Frequency of sections with grouped number of boys
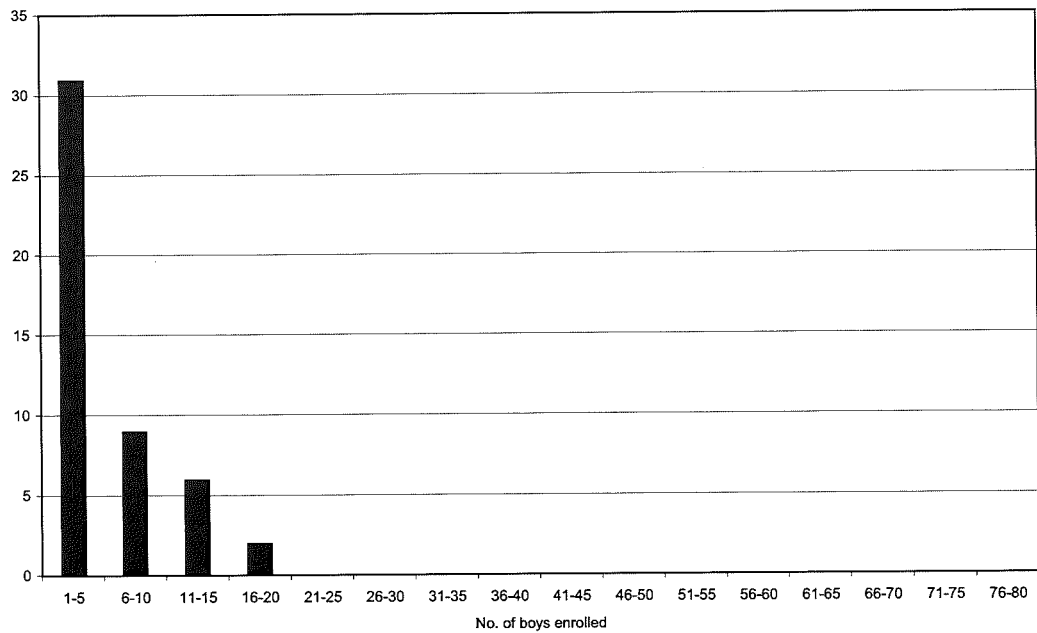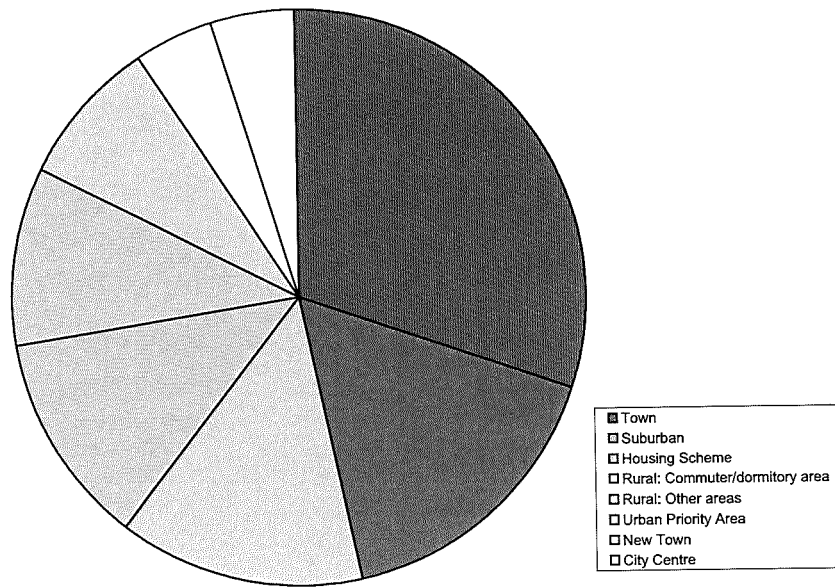
.1 Anchor Boys

No. of boys enrolled

.2 Junior Section

No. of boys enrolled

.3 Company Section

.4 Senior Section

Graph 7 Community type in which company membership live

Community Type	n	%
Town	33	30.27
Suburban	18	16.51
Housing Scheme	15	13.76
Rural: Commuter/dormitory area	13	11.93
Rural: Other areas	11	10.09
Urban Priority Area	9	8.26
New Town	5	4.59
City Centre	5	4.59
	109	100.00

Graph 8 Meeting place of represented BB companies
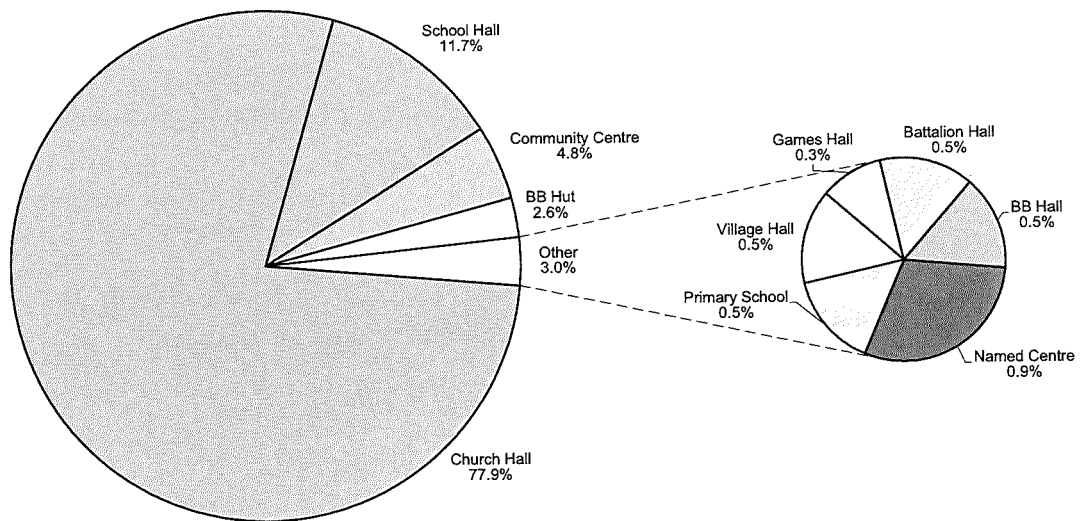
Graph 9 Denomination to which represented BB companies are attached

■ Denomination	Church of Scotland (CoS)	Episcopal	Congregational	Baptist	Methodist	CoS/Congregational/ Methodist
	108	2	3	4	1	1
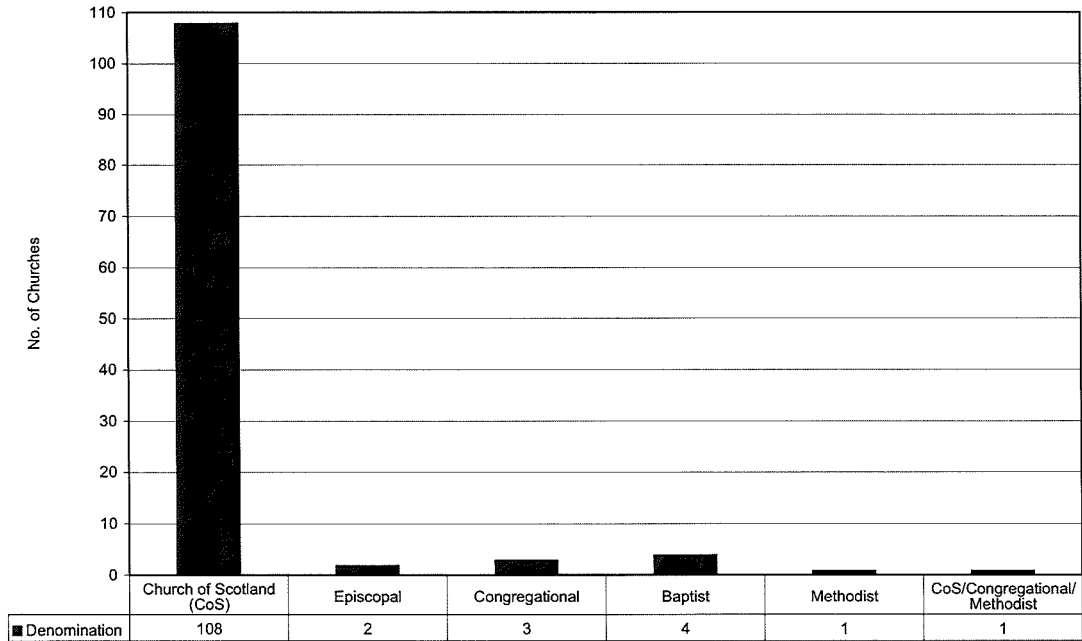
Note: due to four Companies having multiple church connections, 111 Companies are attached to 119 churches.

Graph 10 Meeting night of companies represented

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
▢ Anchor Boys	20	12	15	22	36
▨ Junior Section	14	16	14	24	40
▧ Company Section	9	6	6	7	70
■ Senior Section	7	2	4	4	37